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HISTORY OF ROME AND THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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HISTORY OF ROME AND THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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ROME AT THE CLOSE OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

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HISTORY OF ROME AND THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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THE BISHOPS OF ROME DOWN TO THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE

Empire and Papacy, State and Church

212. The attitude of the Christian Emperors to the Papal Power is clearly evinced by historical documents from the fourth century onwards.

The Emperors succeeding Constantine at once recognised the fundamental difference between the Church's spiritual sphere of action and the temporal power of the State. The whole period was permeated with the idea, formulated by hundreds of writers in antiquity, that the Church, founded solely for the spiritual salvation of mankind, pursues an object totally different from that of the State; that her existence is sustained by means of a different character, and that she reckons on other and superior forces to enable her to accomplish her task within the minds and hearts of believers.

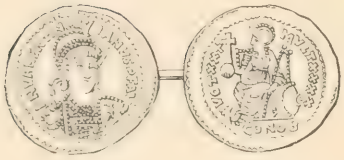
Of course the Church, naturally enough, grew up within the State. The Roman Empire, with its division, its government, and its law, formed, so to speak, the scaffolding inside which the new, heaven-born structure took its rise. But scaffolding and structure are not identical; the latter rests upon its own independent foundations. The Church too, in her nature a perfect organisation, rose, so to speak, upon her own ground. The Empire, after its conversion to Christianity, even accorded—a privilege we find expressed in its laws—a higher dignity to the Church than to itself, on account of her Divine origin and Divine aim. These laws lay it down that more honour is due to the spiritual than to the material, to the eternal than to the temporal, to Heaven than to Earth. Hence the place occupied by the

monogram of Christ, and the sign of the Cross, on the Imperial coins (Ill. 80). Armed soldiers protect the monogram, which has become the ornament of the Labarum, or Victory displays it triumphant on her shield. The Cross floats above the Victor; it surmounts the orb; or Christian Victory, depicted as an angel, holds it aloft before the Nations; or, lastly, it glitters in reduced form on the Imperial crown.

During the time of Pope Damasus an Imperial edict of

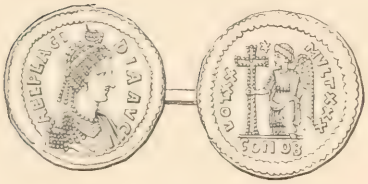
Coin of Constantine.

Coin of Gratian.



Coin of Valentinian II.

Coin of Ælia Flacilla.



Coin of Galla Placidia.

Coin of Licinia Eudoxia.

Ill. 80.—Christ's Monogram and the Cross on Coins of the old Christian Empire.
Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 491, Fig. 370 ff., *Realencyk. der christl. Alterthümer*, 2, 445, Fig. 277 ff.

Valentinian I., which we must study more closely, proclaims in emphatic language the independent right of the Church to control her own affairs.

A great Council in Illyricum had rejected the Macedonian heresy, which denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. At the same time it had laid down rules for the appointment to church offices. An Imperial edict insists upon the observance of this decree by the Bishops of Asia. It quotes the words of Christ

Ill. 81.—Christ as Sovereign Judge. (Ancient Christian sarcophagus from Perugia.)

which enact the division of authority: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." The Emperor Valentinian accordingly describes the bearers of spiritual power as "stewards of the Great King," and to them alone must people hearken in matters concerning "the worship of the Great King." "No one shall say," he goes on, "we worship the ruler of this world." In these last words he clearly alludes to the joint-emperor, the Arian Valens, and his followers. "Why do you misuse," he says to this heretical party, "Imperial authority by persecuting the Church and the orthodox Bishops?" The Church's members must be free. "They keep the laws of the State, and at the same time they zealously serve the Heavenly King. They resist no worldly ordinance; they obediently promote the payment of the taxes; by their prayers they obtain for us peace on our borders, and at home immunity from the assaults of him who was an enemy from the beginning." In conclusion, Valentinian states that he is sending the decrees of the above-mentioned Synod to all bishops for their observance.[1]

Here we have the language of the Christian Empire. Christ is represented on artistic monuments as Highest Lord and Judge (Ill. 81),[2] and in public life also He is recognised as the Lawgiver. Opposing voices were heard only when passing misunderstandings disturbed the accord of the Powers, or when Emperors, like Valens, or, previously, Constantius, most ill-advisedly took the side of heresy.

An episcopal utterance which indicated perfectly what will be the normal relations throughout all future times is that of Ambrose of Milan in the letter of the Synod of Aquileia which he penned to the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II., and Theodosius. "The Emperors," he says, "facilitated the holding of the Synod, and the heads of the Church there assembled with the whole independent weight of their authority passed a just judgment on the

[1] THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, IV., c. 7; *P.G.*, LXXXII., 1134 ff. The members of the clergy were called διοικηταὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως. On the Council of Illyricum, see HEFELE, I. 741.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1871, 127, tav. 8. Cp. KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 158. The sarcophagus belongs to the fourth century. The explanation which has it that it represents Christ as a twelve-year-old boy discoursing with the Doctors is, I believe, erroneous. In the higher panels are two scenes from the story of Jonas, in one of which Noe makes his appearance with the dove. According to de Rossi, the busts are not models of the dead, but are, one, that of the Apostle Peter, the other, that of Britius, bishop of Perugia, or of Hercules, a bishop of the same city, both of whom were connected by tradition with Peter.

heretical bishops." "Show your respect to these chief pastors and to the Divine Founder of your own Imperial dignity," he writes to the Emperors, "by no longer recognising the deposed bishops, and by preventing them from reassuming their charges. Ensure obedience to the Church, and you will thus ensure obedience to your own laws."[1]

Before this, immediately after the death of Valens (378), the Emperor **Gratian** had passed a remarkable law assigning the Christian churches to the orthodox bishops. He had become sole ruler of the whole Empire, and wished, as Theodoret expresses it, by restoring peace to the Church, to "offer the first-fruits of his reign to the King of the universe." He commanded the reinstatement of all the Catholic bishops who had been ousted by the Arians. An accompanying edict, the terms of which recall that of Aurelian already alluded to (vol. i. p. 315), lays it down that "the churches shall be restored to those who are in communion with Bishop Damasus of Rome."[2]

The Emperor Gratian despatched high officials to ensure the carrying out of his decision concerning the buildings. In connection with this, the report we possess of the proceedings at Antioch is very characteristic. Two bishops represented themselves to Sapores, the *Dux*, who had been sent thither by Gratian, as being in communion with Damasus. Nevertheless, on being examined as to their doctrine, the two episcopal suppliants, according to Theodoret, became very embarrassed, and, being unable to prove their agreement with the Roman See, were ultimately put aside.[3]

As soon as Gratian had taken **Theodosius** as co-regent in the East, the latter promulgated his famous edict, acknowledging the independence and authority of the ecclesiastical Power. In it he expresses a wish that all will renounce Arianism, and accept that Faith which the Apostle Peter had bequeathed to the Romans, and which had been upheld by Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria. We know that Peter of Alexandria had at that time constituted himself the champion of Damasus's decisions. Damasus had saved for him Alexandria, the primatial See of

[1] MANSI, *Collect. concil.*, 3, 615 ff.

[2] "*Lege lata, qua iubebat, tum ciectos in exsilium pastores redire gregibusque suis restitui, tum sacras aedes iis tradi, qui Damasi communionem amplecterentur.*" THEODORET, V., c. 2.

[3] Ibid., c. 3.

the East, had received him in Rome as a fugitive, and had strengthened and comforted him.[1]

Another Imperial edict of the time of Damasus, and the last which will be quoted here from his history, shows how the Empire acknowledged the independence of the ecclesiastical courts. It was published conjointly by Gratian and Valentinian II.

In this was solemnly repeated, what Constantine the Great had already recognised, viz. that bishops were quite independent in their judicial decisions regarding the clergy. The edict was due to the proceedings in Rome against Damasus by the Antipope Ursinus and his party. In order to put a stop to the unseemly interference of Imperial officials in favour of Ursinus, the old rule was laid down anew, according to which, in religious questions, "the Head alone and his associates" have the right of judging. "The priesthood shall not endure the affront of having its causes tried by secular judges, as has so often occurred." The ecclesiastical condemnation of Ursinus and his party was to have the force of a civil judgment; his followers, clerical and episcopal, were to be persuaded, and, if needs be, forced, to abandon him; whilst "so far as the other Bishops of the Church are concerned, judgment was to be left to the Bishop of Rome."[2]

A Roman Council under Damasus in 380 quotes this edict with great satisfaction, and declares that through it "the direction of the Holy Apostles had been carried out as it were under Divine inspiration," whilst the sovereigns had thereby "made proof of their respect for the Church founded by God." The two Emperors answered in a kindly manner this Synodal letter addressed to them, and, with due emphasis, repeated that the aforesaid decree had been issued because religion has a claim to all possible respect.[3]

Such is the Imperial edict by which, according to Rade, the Protestant biographer of Damasus, the Primacy was founded in the Roman Church.

[1] *Cod. Theodos.*, lib. XVI., tit. I., 1, 2.

[2] Letter of the Roman Council of 380 to Gratian, in MANSI, 3, 624: "*sanctorum apostolorum . . . servantes . . . praeceptum statuistis . . . ut de reliquis ecclesiarum sacerdotibus episcopus romanus haberet examen.*" This is the text of the decree on which, according to Rade, the "foundation" of the Primacy rests. St. Ambrose took this decree in a different sense to Rade (see vol. i., p. 352); he says: "*sacerdotes de sacerdotibus voluit iudicare.*" *Ep.* 21, No. 2.

[3] On the Synodal address, see previous note. The monarch has issued an edict "*quae divino ministerio plurimum deferat.*" The reply of Gratian and Valentinian is in MANSI, 3, 624; their motive had been the "*religio quam nos iure veneramur.*"

Just as in this case, so also in different other ordinances of the civil power in favour of the Church, or even of the Primacy, what we find is always a recognition of the pre-existing rights or privileges of the Church; of a transfer or bestowal of new rights nothing is ever heard. In fact, it is often expressly stated that the spiritual power or the Papal Supremacy, having been founded by a higher and Divine hand, rested upon a position impregnable to the secular power.

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213. The fundamental importance of this matter is so great for the whole future that it justifies us in adducing here two other Imperial edicts of rather later date.

Valentinian III., in a frequently quoted enactment which he sent on June 6, 445, to Gaul in favour of the decisions of Leo the Great against Hilary of Arles, begins with a clear allusion to the independent supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. He declares that this is based upon the Divine choice of Peter, and its universal acceptance by the Faithful. Any step taken against the authority of the Roman See is an avowed breach of Imperial law. "Peace will only then be possible throughout the universal Church, when the whole Church acknowledges its ruler."[1]

The venerable Bishop of the Eternal City of Rome has legally given judgment against Bishop Hilary of Arles, the Emperor proceeds, and "in Gaul this judgment has been acquiesced in even previous to the Imperial ratification." If, in spite of this, he continues, he has on his side chosen to give directions, it is to forbid that the secular courts should perchance take the part of Hilary against the judgment of the Bishop of Rome. In the interest of peace and for the sake of church discipline, it must be once for all established as the rule for the Imperial Government, not only in Gaul, but throughout the other provinces, that the time-honoured institutions of the Churches are never to be interfered with, save with the sanction of the Roman Bishop. "What the authority of the Apostolic See decides, that shall be the law for all." After being summoned, should any bishop refuse to appear before the Pope, then he shall be compelled by the civil provincial governor.[2]

[1] "*Tunc enim demum ecclesiarum pax ubique servabitur, si rectorem suum agnoscat universitas.*" *Novellae Valentiniani III.*, tit. 16; also in *P.L.*, LIV., 637. The edict was given at Rome, and addressed to Aetius.

[2] "*Sed hoc illis omnibusque pro lege sit, quicquid sanxit vel sanxerit apostolicae sedis auctoritas.*"

As this Constitution of Valentinian III. also bears the name of the joint-emperor Theodosius II., the Ruler of the East, and, according to the testimony of various manuscripts, was addressed to all citizens of the Empire controlled by Rome, we may see that the law was one of the most far-reaching ever promulgated in the Empire, and that it received the widest circulation in the provinces.

When, in the next century, the legislator **Justinian** codified the laws in the Codex which bears his name, he judged it right to place at its head a remarkably outspoken acknowledgment of the Church, of her doctrine, and of her power. If Justinian himself had kept closer to this programme, instead of too often letting his Imperial self-will trench on the territory of theology, a happy time would have been the result for both Church and State. But in theory at least—and with the rest we have here no concern—here and elsewhere, he faithfully renders the belief of his day and his own convictions. Obedience to, and respect for, the chief Bishop of Rome were to be henceforth one of the leading principles in the scheme of Imperial government. At the very beginning of his Code of Laws, Justinian turns to the successor of St. Peter, addressing him as "Father" and as "Head of the Church." He considers it his bounden duty as Emperor to support the Roman Bishop in his efforts to maintain the unity of the Churches. Having then professed his belief in each and every article of the Catholic faith, especially in those called into question by the new heresies, he concludes: "Thus do all Bishops believe, confess, and preach according to the doctrine of your Apostolic See."[1]

The same Emperor repeatedly endeavoured, with the help of the Roman Bishop, to heal the profound internal dissensions in the episcopate, provoked by his own mania for interfering in church matters; the world indeed bowed down before his victorious arms, but his intervention in the concerns of the Church brought him face to face with unexpected reverses. In this extremity, alarmed at the consequences of his own actions, the Emperor magnanimously declared his readiness to stand by the Pope, seeing that it was impossible to doubt the Divine words: "Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build my Church"—

[1] *Cod.*, Lib. I., tit. 1, 1, 8: "*Victor Iustinianus, Pius, Felix, Inclytus, Triumphator, semper Augustus, Ioanni sanctissimo archiepiscopo almae urbis Romae et patriarchae.*"

words, he says, which the course of time only confirms more and more, "for the Apostolic See ever preserves inviolate the Catholic religion." What is more, he not only undertook to accept for his own part the doctrinal teaching of Rome, then under discussion, but expressed his desire that all bishops would do the same. The Patriarchs are to send their respective signatures to the Pope at Rome, the Metropolitans to their Patriarchs, and the Bishops to their Metropolitans, "in order that, in this wise, our Holy Catholic Church may be strengthened."[1]

To all these and many other Imperial documents acknowledging Church authority and the Primacy we may add, as a parallel deed, the previously mentioned edict of the Emperor Phocas; that edict by which, according to the Centuriators, the Primacy of Antichrist was created, and against which Heaven had felt forced to protest solemnly by sending a comet.[2]

The Holy See had, since the time of Mauritius, Phocas's predecessor, been compelled to complain of the use made by the Archbishops of Constantinople of the title of "Œcumenical Patriarch." Pope Boniface III. finally succeeded in obtaining the support of Phocas. The latter, who indeed occupies a very insignificant place in history, made a law by which he acknowledged the ancient right of the Roman See to the Primacy over the whole Church, thus depriving the title of Œcumenical Patriarch of any dangerous sense. In the main, all he did was to give Rome an assurance that the unity of the Church would not be disturbed; given the circumstances, he could scarcely have done less for the Papacy. So slight indeed was the importance of this Imperial declaration that the *Liber pontificalis* records it in a single line. Well may we ask in astonishment how sixteenth-century polemics could have attached such misleading importance to an insignificant act of this Emperor, and how modern enemies of the Church of Rome can still make use of it as a weapon of offence.[3]

[1] "*Quia in sede apostolica inviolabilis semper catholica custoditur religio.*" MANSI, 8, 857; *P.L.*, LXVI., 42. The words occur in the document addressed to Pope Agapetus, in which Justinian accepts the so-called *Formula Hormisdae papae.*

[2] See vol. i., p. 352.

[3] *Liber pontificalis*, *Bonifatius III.*, No. 115, ed. DUCHESNE, I., 316. MOMMSEN, 164: "*Hic optinuit apud Focatem principem, ut sedis apostolica beati Petri apostoli caput esset omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia constantinopolitana prima se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat.*"

214. The distinction between ecclesiastical and political power, and the independence of the Church, became necessarily more sharply defined during the attacks made on the latter by the State.

During the Arian controversies, representatives of the Church —Popes, bishops, and even sometimes laymen—had defended against the encroachments of the State that domain in which the Church alone has the right to command.

Pope **Liberius,** by force and fraud, was brought to the camp of the Arian Emperor Constantius. Here, in an audience before all his courtiers, the Emperor upbraided him as follows: "Why dost thou alone oppose my wishes? Why dost thou stand by the Nicene Creed and refuse to condemn Athanasius? What art thou in comparison with all the nations and bishops who are on my side?"

With no sign of fear Liberius made answer: "Even were I alone, that would not lessen the incalculable good which I protect, the Faith and freedom of the Church. I demand that all bishops subscribe to the Nicene Creed; let them then return in peace to their sees, after which they will pass an independent judgment on Athanasius."

A court-bishop here interrupted the Pope: "He cares but little, O Emperor, about the independence of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but he would fain boast before the Senators of Rome of having overwhelmed the Emperor with his eloquence."

Seeing the Pope's unshaken constancy, the Emperor now made show of his authority and remarked curtly: "What has been settled once for all, shall not be altered. There is but one point at issue: Join the assembly of the (Arian) Churches and I send thee back again to Rome. Thus only canst thou secure peace. Now sign."

Liberius's answer was: "I bade good-bye to the brethren in Rome. I hold the Church's laws above all else; I will not betray them in order to live in Rome."

The Emperor, somewhat abashed, concluded the audience, remarking: "Thou hast three days wherein to reflect; if thou wilt not sign, thou canst use thy time to choose a place of exile."

To this Liberius retorted: "Three days will not change my mind. Send me where thou wilt."

When the Pope subsequently was preparing to go into exile at Berœa, Constantius sent him 500 pieces of gold. But the faithful witness refused them. "Take them back to the Emperor," he said to the messenger; "he may need them for the pay of his troops." The Empress sent him an equally large sum. This too was returned to the Court: "If it is not needed for the soldiers," he said, "then let it serve to entertain the court-bishops." When Eusebius, a high official, wished to display his generosity towards the afflicted Pope, Liberius sharply rebuked him, saying: "Thou hast plundered the bishoprics on all sides, and now thou wouldst thrust thy money on me. Learn first what it means to be a Christian."[1]

Thus did the Primate go forth undaunted to face the poverty and distress of banishment. He could well say to himself that he was putting into practice what he had formerly written to Constantius: "The safeguarding of God's rights, and not reckless self-will, is the guide of my actions. Not my laws, but those of the Apostles, are in question. What my predecessors did before, I do now, and by me the authority of the Roman Bishop shall not be diminished or increased."[2] In such wise, with dignity and with moderation, did Liberius defend the independence of the Church's jurisdiction.

On the contrary, Arian bishops zealously fostered a confusion of the twin Powers, spiritual and temporal. It was mainly the fault of the heretical party that the Christian Empire occasionally relapsed into the heathen fallacy of setting up the Emperor as supreme arbiter, even in matters which concerned the conscience of the faithful or the duties of the clergy. The Arian leaders were not averse to putting the direction of Synods into official hands, and to influencing bishops by means of Imperial edicts or threats. This is what moved Athanasius to exclaim at the sight of the Council convoked in Rome under Pope Julius, under quite different auspices: "No sooner do the Arians hear of a really ecclesiastical Court being held—that is, a Court sitting without the presence of an Imperial *Comes*—with no soldiers at the door, and with no publication of the decrees by Imperial edict, than they are seized with terror, and allege the war with Persia as a pretext for not making the journey to Rome."[3]

[1] The whole audience is given with greater detail by THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, II., c. 13.
[2] *Ep. ad Constantium.* MANSI, 8, 1351; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 212.
[3] *Historia Arianorum ad monachos*, c. 11.

St. Athanasius, that great champion, can use strong language when defending the independence of the Church's power, and lashing State interference.

"The Emperor Constantius," he writes in one passage, "professes great anxiety concerning the business of the Church. But what canon ordains that the Court should appoint bishops? What canon commands that generals should seize the churches? Who has delegated the decision of ecclesiastical questions to an Imperial *Comes* or an unlettered eunuch? Who has made the validity of a bishop's ordinances depend upon the permission of the Court?"[1]

In another place he says: "The Emperor asserts that he is supporting a decision of the bishops. Very well; but if they are genuine bishops, to whose words he gives weight, let him leave them to do their work alone. If, however, he is only trying to prove his arbitrary power, why does he use as tools people who style themselves bishops? Who ever heard of such a thing? When has a church decree received its authority from the Emperor? Many Synods have been held before our time; many ecclesiastical laws have been promulgated; but our fathers never acknowledged such an Imperial right, nor did any Emperor hitherto encroach thus upon church matters."[2]

Bishop Hilary, a Father of the Western Church, occasionally expresses himself even more strongly than his Eastern colleague regarding this same Constantius. For having enslaved the Church he is roundly scolded as a tyrant, a seducer, and a hangman. In him Hilary sees a revival of the heathen Emperors, and he even compares the truculent Arian to a wild beast.

The writings of all the men taking part in the great doctrinal struggle are full of protestations against the unseemliness of making one single power out of two distinct ones, and of embodying all authority in a single autocrat. Hosius of Corduba appealing to Constantius; Basil the Great reprimanding Valens; Eulogius of Edessa in his contest with the Prefect Modestus; Nilus of Pelusium in his opposition to Eusebius the *Dux*, and many others, strove hand in hand with the Popes and Bishops we have named, for liberty of mind and conscience. The Church saw instinctively that the uncontrolled exercise of worldly authority

[1] *Historia Arianorum ad monachos*, c. 51.
[2] Ibid., c. 52.

would mean death to the spiritual life and culture of mankind. The dauntless struggle in which she engaged for the defence of her rights, and carried on in spite of every sacrifice, in spite of exile, poverty, and suffering, was the means of preserving to posterity the most priceless of spiritual possessions.[1]

The Successors of Pope Damasus

215. Pope Damasus quitted this life with the comforting assurance that Arianism, and the Imperial tyranny it involved, had received their death-blow, so far as the Roman Empire was concerned. His successors had only to counteract the results of this heresy and bondage. The lives of these Popes manifest, however, many other phases of the highest pastoral authority. Taken together, certain details culled from their history will suitably complete the picture of the Roman Primacy before Leo the Great, which now engages our attention. But we must not forget that, comparatively, only tiny fragments of the story of the Popes' work have been treasured up by history. There is no greater error than the supposition that our historical sources of information contain everything; very often the sources which a happy chance has preserved furnish a mere outline of the events.

Siricius, the first successor of Damasus, reigned from 384 to 399. He despatched "general decrees" bearing upon church discipline and worship to various countries; he was also the author of some dignified circular letters dealing with the purity and sanctity required of the Church's pastors. He grounded his authority for dispensing counsel and censure upon the fact that "the care of all the Churches had been committed" to the Bishop of Rome, to whom also the words of the prophet apply: "Lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their wicked doings and the house of Jacob their sins."[2]

Siricius sent the decrees of a Council he had held in Rome to the African Bishops for their instruction. In letters to the

[1] Sohm's view that church law is essentially opposed to the nature of the Church (*Kirchenrecht*, 1, 700) is contradicted by the very history of the Church.

[2] The expression "*decreta generalia*" is used by himself when speaking of the directions already sent by Pope Liberius concerning the reiteration of baptism. *Ep. ad Himerium episc. Tarraconensem.* MANSI, 3, 655; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 255. "The care of all the Churches," see *Ep. ad orthodoxos per diversas provincias.* MANSI, 3, 667; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 263. Joseph Langen had no hesitation in heading his chapter devoted to Siricius "The beginning of the Papacy under Siricius." See *Gesch. der römischen Kirche.*

episcopate of Eastern Illyricum he upheld the rights of the Papal Vicariate of Thessalonica to represent the authority of Rome.[1]

To the usurper Maximus in Gaul he expressed his disapproval of the condemnation and execution of the heretic Priscillian and his followers by a secular Court. In consequence of this, Maximus sought to exculpate himself by sending the minutes of the trial to Rome. The Priscillianists, after their condemnation at the Council of Saragossa (380), had lodged an appeal with the Holy See, and had sent a missive explaining their position to the Pope. As the directions from Rome—to act with deliberation and in accordance with church law—had led to no result, Siricius tried at least to secure that repentant Priscillianists should be readmitted into the Church conformably with justice.[2]

This Pope raised, so to say, his own monument in Rome, when he restored the great Basilica of St. Paul on the Ostian Way. A lofty cipollino pillar there bore till recent times inscriptions at the top of the shaft and on the base, referring to the dedication by Siricius. The top inscription reads: "Siricius the Bishop, with whole-hearted devotion." In the middle, between these words, stands the monogram of Christ with the Alpha and Omega (Ill. 82).

Ill. 82.—Inscription of Siricius in St. Paul's Basilica.
A new sketch.

The inscription on the base gives among other details the date of the dedication, November 18, 390, and the name of the architect, Flavius Philippus. The new Basilica of St. Paul, in place of the smaller one built by Constantine, was begun in the year 386, *i.e.* under Pope Siricius himself, and was the result of an edict of Valentinian II., of which the text has also come down to us.[3]

[1] To the Africans: Mansi, 3, 669; Jaffé-Kaltenbr., 258. To Eastern Illyricum: Mansi, 8, 750; 3, 674; Jaffé-Kaltenbr., n. 259, 261.

[2] Cp. the passage in question in the Council of Toledo (A.D. 400), in Mansi, 3, 1005.

[3] The inscription "SIRICIVS EPISCOPVS TOTA MENTE DEVOTVS" is on one of the last two columns on the northern side of the Basilica. Its peculiar aspect is due to the fact that the column on which it stands is of slighter build than that on which it stood prior to the last restoration. The base is in one of the colonnades of the cloisters. For the partly illegible inscription on the latter, see de Rossi, *Musaici: S. Paolo, arco di Placidia*, fasc. 15 ff. Valentinian's edict was first published by Baronius, ann. 386, n. 40.

The successor of Siricius, **Anastasius[1] I.,** occupied the See only from 399 to 401. He had to wage war with Donatism in the North-African Provinces. He also sent out a condemnation to both East and West of various errors contained in the Latin version of Origen's works. The spirit of the Church's champions against the Arian heresy survived in him. In a recently discovered document he recalls with gratitude and reverence the efforts of these defenders of the Faith, praising especially Pope Liberius, on whose name aspersions were already being cast.[1]

The rights of the Western Patriarchate in Grecian Illyricum also found valiant advocates in both Anastasius I. and his immediate successors. The archives of the Roman Church, or *Scrinium Apostolicum*, had the custody of the records relating to these rights, as is clear from historical sources dating from this very period. Here, too, all documents bearing on the exercise of the Primacy were carefully stored.[2]

216. **Innocent I.,** who occupied the Roman See after Anastasius (401–417), was obliged to make use of his pastoral supremacy in favour of John Chrysostom, the famous but persecuted archbishop of Constantinople. He quashed, as contrary to law, the sentence passed on Chrysostom, and ordered the holding of a new Synod. Still more decidedly did he negative the irregular election of a bishop to succeed John, informing the Eastern Churches that he would make his communion with them contingent upon the cessation of their hostile attitude towards Chrysostom.[3]

On another occasion Innocent energetically asserted the right of his See to decide all important matters of dispute (*causae maiores*) among bishops. By his own authority he settled the internal affairs of the diocese of Antioch. Bishop John of Jerusalem had the mortification of being sternly reproved by Innocent when this course was dictated by the former's shortcomings and the interests of the Church. In all the North-African

[1] For the Donatists: *Conc. Carthag.*, a. 401. MANSI, 4, 491; 3, 1023; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 283. Origen: JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 281, 282, 284. Liberius: GRISAR, *Analecta romana*, I., 42 ff.

[2] Cp. *Ep. Innocentii I.: Ep. ad Anysium Thessal.* MANSI, 8, 750; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 285: "*cui (Anysio) Damasus, Siricius atque supra memoratus vir (Anastasius episcopus) ita detulerunt, ut omnia, quae in illis partibus gererentur, sanctitati tuae, quae plena iustitiae est, traderent cognoscenda.*"—*Bonif. I. ad Rufum Thessal.* MANSI, 8, 752; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 350: "*Frequentia igitur, ut scrinii nostri monimenta declarant*," &c.

[3] PALLADIUS, *Vita S. Iohannis*, c. 3 ff., *P.G.*, XLVII., 11 ff.; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 287 ff., 294, 305–309.

Provinces, Innocent published regulations concerning the manner of electing bishops.[1]

It was this active and highly respected Pope who during his stay at Ravenna, whither he had gone to sue for peace, and to avert the impending catastrophe, received the crushing news of Rome's capture and partial destruction by Alaric's hordes. When at last he was able to return, his whole care was given to repairing the havoc wrought.[2]

The short reign of the next Pope, **Zosimus**, a Greek (417–418), was less appreciated by contemporaries; maybe, as a foreigner, he was scarcely welcome in the Church of Rome; maybe his advisers were not of the best.

Zosimus instituted the Apostolic Vicariate at Arles for Southern Gaul. But, to take but this one instance, his choice of Patroclus as first holder of this high authority cannot be described otherwise than as unfortunate, for the character of the man was not commensurate with his position.

This Pope also defended in North Africa the rights of the Holy See in the matter of appeals. In this he was indeed justified, but a mistake which he then committed was very helpful to his enemies. He based his judgment on the canons of the General Council of Nicaea, whereas the passages cited were really drawn from the far less important Council of Sardica, which had no œcumenical standing. In the MSS. made use of by Zosimus the decrees of Sardica had been attached to the Nicene Council, and thus his mistake seems certainly excusable.[3] Of this Pope we know that he sent decrees to the Bishops of "Gaul and Spain;" in one case to condemn two Priscillianist Bishops, and in the other to correct abuses in the administration of Holy Orders.[4]

The most noteworthy action of his Pontificate was, however, the blow dealt by him against Pelagianism, the new heresy which Innocent had already assailed. It is true that here too his proceedings for a time were viewed with alarm and distrust by the

[1] *Ep. ad Victricium Rotomagensem*, c. 3 (4). MANSI, 3, 1032; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 286: "*Si autem maiores causae in medium fuerint devolutae, ad sedem apostolicam, sicut synodus statuit, post episcopale iudicium, referantur.*" Antioch: JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 310. Jerusalem: ibid., n. 325 ff. North Africa: ibid., n. 311.

[2] *Ep. ad episcopos Galliae.* MANSI, 4, 359; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 328; cp. n. 332 ff. GRISAR, *Analecta romana*, I., 335 ff. DUCHESNE, *Fastes épiscopaux*, 1, 93 ff.

[3] HEFELE, *Conciliengesch.*, 2, 121, 133, 138.

[4] JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 331, 338.

African episcopate. But on his taking a decisive step the world soon learnt anew, how, even with seemingly insufficient human means, the Holy See is always ready and able, when necessary, to protect the Church with its powerful authority. Such results are due to its consciousness of its high office, and to the Divine guidance assured by Christ to His Foundation. The condemnation of the Pelagians is set forth in the celebrated *Epistula Tractoria* of Zosimus, an encyclical to all the church provinces of the world. Prosper of Aquitania says that by this decree "the sword of Peter was put into the hands of every bishop for the destruction of the wicked." Prosper introduces to his readers the Papal document with the following words: "Thus does the most Holy See of the Blessed Peter, by the mouth of Pope Zosimus, speak unto the whole world."[1]

The importance of Pelagianism and of another allied heretical movement calls us to deal at some length with the war waged against both by the Papacy. If we wish to realise the true significance of the Roman Primacy during the first half of the fifth century, we must first of all appreciate, as it deserves, its attitude towards the two great heretical movements of Pelagianism and Nestorianism. Certain circumstances, which we noticed even previously, during the Arian period, will here again come before us, and even more vividly. The Papacy had made proof of its power against Arianism; in the fifth century, this same inherent power was to be subjected to yet fiercer trial. Difficulties develop on all sides, and even break out at headquarters. In spite of all, however, the successor of Peter heeds the summons to save the Church's unity and her Faith. Concomitantly with the Popes' efforts to fulfil their calling in entire reliance on God's assistance, we may note an increase in the power of the Roman Primate and a general strengthening of the bonds whereby all the Church's provinces are knit more closely with their centre.

The series of the Popes who figure in the history of Pelagianism and Nestorianism brings us down to the Pontificate of Leo the Great, *i.e.* to the period marked by the irruptions of the Huns under Attila, and Vandals under Genseric. To this series belong

[1] *Tractoria* (Fragments): COUSTANT, *Epp. rom. pontiff.*, p. 994. JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 343. PROSPER AQUIT., *Liber contra collatorem*; *P.L.*, LI., 271: "*in qua ad impiorum detruncationem gladio Petri dexterae omnium armantur antistitum.*"

Innocent and Zosimus, of whom we have spoken, and shall speak again ; also Boniface I. (418–422), Celestine I. (422–432), and Xystus III. (432–440).

We will now examine the attitude of Rome towards the Pelagian heresy and towards Nestorius and the Nestorians.

Conflict of the Primacy with Pelagianism

217. The deplorable Pelagian schism began to show itself openly in Africa under Innocent I., after having been secretly prepared in the City of Rome itself.

The matter at stake was not merely one of theory. Pelagius, formerly a simple monk, assailed the moral life of Christianity at its very root. His doctrine was directed against the supernatural life of the Christian, grounded upon Grace, and against the Church's supernatural hope in a future state. To deny, as he did, the Fall of Man, through our first Parents, the need of a Redemption for the World, or of Divine Grace for Salvation, and even to call into question the supernatural character of this Salvation, and the everlasting enjoyment of God's Presence, is simply to cast aside all that Christianity had bestowed on benighted, heathen man. What remained over was a Christianity only in name, was, in fact, a dreary waste of rationalism, however much Pelagius might prate about the true manhood of Christ, and the Salvation brought by the Redeemer. In the doctrinal system of Pelagius, Christ was our Saviour and Redeemer merely through His example and teaching, not through any real Redemption by sanctifying, saving Grace.[1]

Celestius, a Roman attorney, undertook to defend in Africa the apparently strictly moral Pelagius. Condemned at the Synod of Carthage in 411, on account of the doctrine he was disseminating, he at first appealed to Rome, following the custom then usual among heretics. Afterwards, however, he saw fit to carry his theological activity into the East, whither Pelagius also had betaken himself. From the East—that is, from Palestine—another appeal again reached Rome, the Council of Jerusalem declaring that it would refer the question which was disturbing the region to the judgment of the Roman See. Rome, however, was first

[1] See, however, RIVIÈRE, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*, Engl. trans. (1909), vol. i. p. 283 f. [*Trans.*].

drawn into direct action when the African bishops, after two fresh Synods at Carthage and at Mileve, sent their decisions against the sect to Pope Innocent I., expressly requesting his ratification. In so doing they "were mindful not only of their own African Churches, but also of the universal Church, whose welfare is entrusted to the Bishop of Rome."[1]

As soon as the matter had been discussed at a Synod held in Rome at the beginning of 417, Innocent confirmed the proceedings in Africa. At the same time he pronounced an independent and comprehensive judgment upon the disputed doctrines and upon the dangerous error. He declares it was "agreeable with the Church's law," and with "the rule of conduct followed by all Christendom," that the bishops should thus bring the matter before the See of Peter. In the clearest manner possible he lays it down that from the Apostolic See there emanates an unfailing stream of doctrine to irrigate the Churches (these are his very words), and that it behoves the Roman See to confirm by its authority the righteous verdict given by the bishops, that all other Churches may learn how to deal with error.[2]

St. Augustine, the life and soul of the African reaction against Pelagianism, wrote not long after of this same Papal document: "Innocent has so answered us, as of right and necessity it beseemed the Bishop of the Apostolic See."[3]

To his congregation, assembled to hear him in the Basilica at Hippo, the same Doctor of the Church addressed the words which later times summed up in the oft-repeated formula: *Roma locuta, causa finita.* "The decisions of two Synods respecting

[1] For the appeal of Celestius, MARIUS MERCATOR, *Commonitor.* (*S. Augustini Opp ed. Maurin.*), t. X., Append., p. 69: "*ad romani episcopi examen credidit appellandum*," &c. Synod of Jerusalem in MANSI, 4, 307; HEFELE, 2, 108. The African Synods: HEFELE, 2, 113 ff. That of Carthage (416) writes to Innocent I.: "*ut statutis nostrae mediocritatis etiam apostolicae sedis adhibeatur auctoritas pro tuenda salute multorum.*" MANSI, 4, 321. The final extract in the text is from the Pope's reply.

[2] Innocent's answer to the Council of Carthage: MANSI, 3, 1071; to that of Mileve: 3, 1075; *P.L.*, XX., 582, 588. In the first letter: "*ecclesiasticae memores disciplinae . . . ad nostrum referendum approbastis iudicium . . . scientes quid apostolicae sedi . . . debeatur, a qua ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis huius emersit.*" Then follows an important statement regarding the doctrinal authority of Rome as recognised throughout the whole Church and by the "*instituta patrum*," "*ut quidquid quamvis de disiunctis remotisque provinciis ageretur, non prius ducerent finiendum, nisi ad huius sedis notitiam perveniret, ut tota huius auctoritate, iusta quae fuerit pronuntiatio firmaretur, indeque sumerent caeterae ecclesiae, velut de natali suo fonte aquae cunctae procederent* (*procedunt?*) *et per diversas totius mundi regiones puri capitis incorruptae manarent* (*manant?*), *quid praecipere, quos abluere, quos . . . unda vitaret*," &c.

[3] AUGUST., *Ep.*, 186 (al. 106), c. 1.

this business were despatched to the Apostolic See. Thence too came the (confirmatory) decrees. The matter is at an end. Would too that the error were also ended!"[1]

218. Soon after Innocent I. had thus justified the African Church he departed this life. Only a few months had passed when an assembly or Synod was held under his successor **Zosimus** in St. Clement's Basilica at Rome. This Synod, of which the results were unfortunate, had probably been summoned without sufficient preparation of the ground. The consequence was that the African Bishops were not slow to complain of the Pope's behaviour.

Pelagius and Celestius, the two leaders of the heretical party, made a hypocritical attempt to justify themselves before the Greek Zosimus, who was then still quite new to the Apostolic throne. The former sent a subtly argued profession of faith. The latter conducted his own defence in the above-named Basilica on the Cælian, before the Pope and numerous attendant clergy. Celestius played his part so skilfully that Zosimus at once penned a letter to the African Bishops in favour of the accused. He found that it was doubtful, so he states, whether they personally had taught the false doctrines condemned by Innocent. With great emotion the Pope assured the Africans, that had they been present at the Synod in St. Clement's, the piety of Celestius would have moved them to tears.[2]

The African Bishops only the more urgently pressed for the condemnation not merely of the doctrine, but also of its two advocates. To begin with, their strongly worded protestations were in vain. At length, however, they gained their point. As soon as the real personal character of the accused became known to the Pope, he published the sentence of condemnation by means of the previously mentioned *Tractoria*. This great encyclical, issued in 418, struck with the "Sword of Peter" both the doctrine and its defenders, who were by it excluded from the bosom of the Church. The decree was subscribed to in all the provinces of the Church.[3]

[1] *Serm.* 131, c. 10. *P.L.*, XXXVIII., 729 ff: "*Iam enim de hac causa duo concilia missa sunt ad sedem apostolicam; inde etiam rescripta venerunt. Causa finita est. Utinam aliquando finiatur error!*" Cp. AUG., *Contra duas ep. Pelag.*, 2, c. 3: "*Quibus (litteris) de hac re dubitatio tota sublata est.*"

[2] *Ep. ad Aurelium et episc. Afric.* MANSI, 4, 350; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 329.

[3] "*Per totum orbem missa subscriptionibus patrum est roborata.*" MARIUS MERCATOR, *Commonitor.* (see above, p. 20, note 1). With reference to the indecision shown

Augustine was delighted with the clearness and precision of the Papal exposition. When Julian, the stubborn Pelagian Bishop of Eclanum, with his following of eighteen Italian Bishops, clamoured for another Council to decide the question, Augustine promptly replied: "Julian seems to think that heresies are only to be met by means of Synods . . . competent authority has condemned the sect, and in a manner which should suffice."[1]

219. The successors of Zosimus associated themselves with St. Augustine in his efforts to make the Church's doctrine victorious. **Boniface I.** requested the learned Bishop of Hippo to write an exhaustive treatise in refutation of Pelagianism.[2]

Celestine I. energetically upheld the sentence against Julian of Eclanum, and firmly withstood the blandishments of the fallen Bishop. Pope Celestine also entered into communication with Nestorius, at that time still the highly respected archbishop of Constantinople, in order the better to circumvent Julian; Nestorius had himself written two letters to the Pope to consult him about the Pelagian heresy. When the heresy, under the veil of Semi-Pelagianism, sought to gain a footing in the West, and specially in Southern Gaul, Celestine strove to withstand it from Rome, and, after Augustine's demise, found a willing instrument in Prosper of Aquitania, author of an invaluable Chronicle, compiled in Rome. Prosper had come to Rome with his friend Hilary the year after St. Augustine's death, and had brought a report of the doings of the Semi-Pelagians. His pen was qualified to cope with the new error in the spirit of St. Augustine.

The Semi-Pelagians overtly and covertly assailed the writings of the great Father of the African Church. The Cathedra of Peter, formerly so effectually defended by St. Augustine, now took him under its affectionate protection, and set up the authority of his name as a shield against the new form of error. "Augustine, that man of saintly memory," wrote Celestine to the Gallic Bishops, "stood ever in communion with us, and no shadow of suspicion ever rested upon him. So distinguished was he by his learning

at first by Zosimus, see FACUNDUS of HERMIANE (*Pro defens. trium capit.*, 7, c. 3; *P.L.*, LXVII., 637): "*Non debet crimini deputari simplicium versutia non intellecta malignorum.*" Augustine maintains in several passages that Zosimus, as regards his doctrinal standpoint, "*non recessit a praedecessore suo Innocentio.*" *Liber VI. contra Julian.*, c. 12.

[1] "*Quasi nulla haeresis aliquando nisi synodi congregatione damnata sit*," &c. *Contra duas epp. Pelagii*, 4, c. 12.

[2] PROSPER AQUIT., *Contra Collat.*; *P.L.*, LI., 271.

that even my predecessors accounted him among the best of Doctors." This and similar testimonials of the Roman See, contributed greatly to show St. Augustine in his true light, as the mental giant he really was. Ever since early mediæval times the Church has refreshed her Faith in his profound writings, and found in them an arsenal for the defence and explanation of her doctrines.[1]

Nevertheless it was the Apostolic See which took the responsibility of warranting the reliability of St. Augustine's writings. Without its unerring guidance in doctrinal matters, even the authority of the Fathers would have been uncertain.

Not in Gaul alone, but also in Britain, did Pope Celestine labour to counteract the after-effects of Pelagianism. At the instigation of the deacon Palladius he sent, in 429, Germanus, Bishop of Antissiodorum (Auxerre) to Britain, in order to dispute the field there with the Pelagians. He was also entrusted with the task of converting the heathen tribes who inhabited it. It is well known that this mission of Palladius led to that of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, who was later on despatched by the same Pope Celestine to this island, which afterwards gave birth to so many saints and missioners.[2]

Finally, in the East, under Celestine, Pelagianism was once more solemnly condemned at the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus (431). The assembled Fathers, having read the account of the proceedings in the West against the false doctrine, agreed to the verdict of Pope Celestine and his predecessors, and declared that it should stand firm and unalterable.[3]

220. Of Celestine's successor, **Xystus III.**, we hear that at first he ran great risk of being outwitted by the hypocritical Julian of Eclanum. Even before he was raised to the Papacy, he had shown himself somewhat lenient at least to individual Pelagians. Thanks, however, to Leo, the future Pope, then only a Roman deacon, who assisted Xystus, the heretical bishop whose conversion was only outward, was prevented from re-entering the Church's fold. Xystus stood firm, and thus retrieved his earlier vacillation; indeed, it was hopeless to expect to convert the

[1] *Epistola Coelestini ad episcopos Galliarum.* MANSI, 4, 455; JAFFÉ-KALTENER., n. 381.
[2] PROSPER AQUIT., *Chron.*; JAFFÉ-KALTENER., n. 55, 56.
[3] *Ἀγνωσθέντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπὶ τῇ καθαιρέσει, ἐδικαιώσαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἰσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαια μένειν τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁρισθέντα παρὰ τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας.* Synodal letter to Pope Celestine. MANSI, 4, 1330 ff.

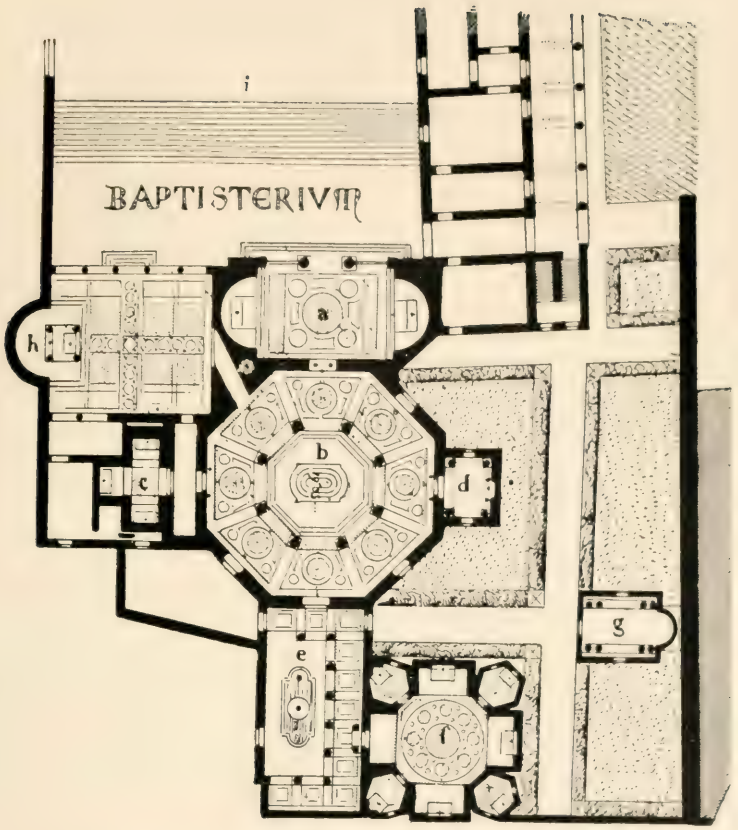
Pelagians by means of concessions. With this the worst struggles were over. A fruitful victory had been won by the primatial Church of the West.

Xystus III. could well look on this victory as a blessing for the Church. This same Pope completed the Baptistery of the Lateran, and in it set a monument, in which we can scarcely hesitate to see a memorial of the triumph of right doctrine over the errors of Pelagius. This is a metrical inscription with a doctrinal bearing. Even now it may be seen, with its large, even letters uninjured, on the octagonal marble entablature which encircles the font beneath. The eight distichs, one on each cornice, go to compose a real sermon in stone.

Evidently referring to the recent controversies, they speak of the sanctifying power of baptism, of grace, of original sin, of personal guilt, of the Church and of its hope of everlasting life. A breath of classicism has touched the poem. The verses begin: "Here (at the baptismal font) a divine seed gives birth to a holy tribe; the Spirit of God breathed upon the water and became its Creator." The marvellous unity of the Church throughout the world, which is a consequence of the common Sacrament of Baptism, is thus expressed: "Those born again to new life are no longer separated by a wall of partition. One font, one Spirit, and one Faith make them to be also one." An invitation points to the renewing, sanctifying grace which is conferred by the water of baptism: "Wouldst thou be spotless, then wash in this bath, and neither thy father's (*i.e.* original) sin nor thine own sins will ever again oppress thee. Here is the source of the Water of Life, which taketh away the sins of the world; which springeth from the wounded side of our dying Saviour."[1]

The Lateran Baptistery had been begun but not completed by Constantine the Great. Xystus III. restored the building and gave it a richer and more handsome form, which it has to some extent preserved. It has an octagonal shape, as the ground plan (Ill. 83) shows. In the middle, ever since Constantine's time, there was the broad baptismal basin (*b*) approached by steps. Around this Xystus erected the eight fine porphyry pillars, which are still standing. According to the *Liber pontificalis*, these had been already provided by Constantine, and were lying near the

[1] See the whole text in my *Analecta romana*, 1, 106, and the reproduction, Pl. 2, n. 1 (p. 147). DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 424, with note 44. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 236, describes the former shape of the baptistery according to Rohault de Fleury.



Ill. 83.—Baptistery of the Lateran, showing the neighbouring edifices.

Plan partially reconstructed; after Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran au moyen-âge*, Pl. 4. (*a*) Atrium; (*b*) octagonal colonnade with the font; (*c*) Oratory of St. John the Evangelist; (*d*) Oratory of St. John the Baptist; (*e*) portico facing the (*f*) Oratory of the Holy Cross; (*g*) Oratory (dedication unknown); (*h*) Oratory of St. Venantius; (*i*) staircase to the apse of the Lateran basilica.

building. Above the pillars, arranged to form an octagon, Xystus placed the marble entablature, bearing the inscription just spoken of, and supporting an upper wall pierced by arches, the whole being crowned by a cupola. At the present day the entablature is surmounted by a second row of columns and a modern superstructure. An arcade surrounded the central chamber, and doubtless the walls and cupola were adorned with mosaics and variegated marble, like those in the Rotunda of Santa Costanza, near the Basilica of S. Agnese, which dates from the fourth century. The entrance to the Lateran Baptistery was formerly from the side of the apse of the Lateran Basilica—that is, to the south ; not, as now, to the north. The inscription on the peristylium starts opposite this entrance with the words "*Gens sacranda.*" The atrium was also to the south side (*a*), and had two semicircular recesses ornamented with mosaics. Outside, the atrium was adorned with two large porphyry pillars and with white marble pilasters at the corners. In spite of the ruin which overtook the portico at some unknown time, and of the awkwardness of the new work, the building is still an imposing one. It seems more likely that the vestibule, and indeed nearly the whole edifice, dates from Xystus III., and not from Constantine. The dedication of the Baptistery took place on June 29. The so-called Martyrology of St. Jerome, which is almost contemporary, gives on this date the "Dedication of the old Baptistery in Rome," by the term "old" doubtless referring to its foundation by Constantine.[1]

The Popes in Conflict with Nestorianism

221. While the West was still in the throes of the Pelagian controversy, the East had already given birth to the new heresy of Nestorianism. This was to furnish a new and difficult task for the Roman Primacy, giving rise to almost endless disputes

[1] For the better understanding of the plan (Ill. 83), we may add that (*c*) the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist and (*d*) the Chapel of St. John the Baptist were built on by Pope Hilary ; (*e*) is the portico built by Hilary, in front of the present entrance. In this portico was the entrance to the Oratory of the Holy Cross (*f*), also built by the same Pope. The Oratory (*g*) is of later origin, and its name is unknown. The Oratory (*h*) is the one founded by John IV. in honour of St. Venantius. On the Lateran Baptistery, cp. *Liber pont.*, I, 174; *Silvester*, n. 37 and I, 234; *Xystus III.*, n. 64; and Duchesne's observations. The last words of the latter passage, "*et versibus exornavit,*" allude to the inscription of Xystus III. For the building, see DEHIO, *Baukunst des Mittelalters*, 33, who approves of Rohault de Fleury's reconstruction. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Le Latran au moyen-âge*, p. 33, 416 ff., Pl. 33, 34, 35. Our illustration is based upon this reconstruction.

regarding Christ's natures, to great friction between the two halves, Latin and Greek, of the Church, and issuing in strong measures being resorted to by the Apostolic See against the Patriarch of the East.

These constantly renewed assaults upon the Church's doctrine must strike us as something strange. They were, however, a consequence of arbitrary treatment of doctrinal subjects, which, in the East especially, were often studied in a too narrow spirit of logic. As soon as the days of outward persecution had passed away, attention began to be given to the doctrinal treasures which had been handed down. There now began what was in many respects a salutary development resulting in a plainer definition of dogmas. Such progress was called for by the very character of the Church, and was needful too in order to be able to answer in future ages the justifiable questions of natural reason and of the religious consciousness. But the great work was hampered by heretical theories, of which no sooner was one dead than its room was taken by another, and which, being fostered by human passions, resulted in much bitter warfare. Had these discussions been merely academic there would have been no cause for alarm, but each heresy in assailing an article of faith imperilled the whole dogmatic structure of Christianity. Schools of thought degenerated into furious sectarian factions, and in each instance the overthrow of the heresy became a question of life or death to the Church and her oneness, of which the pledge lies in the Primacy.

The interest seems incredible which was taken in the East by almost all classes of Christian society—the Emperor, the bishops, the clergy, and even the lowest ranks of the people—in each successive theological opinion. Even so recondite a question as that of the single Person and double Nature of Christ would let loose a storm of passion. Not seldom did it seem as if the powers of hell were showing their fury at finding the unfortunate world delivered from the thraldom of paganism. There even seemed a danger that mankind would once again relapse into the spiritual darkness and moral degradation of heathenism, through the distortion and weakening of the elements of Christian Faith. This period of sore distress and trial was, however, to pass away. Clear-sighted bishops, with the successors of St. Peter at their head, led the people safely through the danger, and guided them to the threshold of an era when the New Nations of the Middle

Ages enjoy the gift of Faith, and thrive on the Church's own ground, without wrangling over dogma or imperilling unity by stubbornly upholding theories of their own.

The achievement of this period was a great doctrinal development, for which, however, previous controversies were also to some extent responsible; hence the struggles had not been without their use. Frequent Synods, a brilliant line of learned Fathers providentially bestowed on the Church, the vigilance and vigour of the Supreme Pontiffs, account for the evolution of the Church's inner organisation. Heresies, in the plans of the Church's invisible Head, were destined to serve a twofold purpose—first, to make the Articles of Faith more clearly and profoundly realised; and secondly, to manifest the power of Providence and strengthen the bond of unity.

222. There is no need of dwelling here upon the connection between the Nestorian, Arian, and Pelagian doctrines. Arius opposed the Divinity of Christ; Nestorius disputed the essential union of the Divine and human nature in our Saviour. Pelagius debased Christian life by his rationalism; Nestorius wrecked the belief in the Person of the God-Man, which is the very basis of our religion.

Nestorius, Archbishop of Constantinople, held that Christ whom Mary bore was a man like any other human being, but that He had been sanctified by the Eternal Word of God dwelling in Him as a separate Person. How far removed he was from the view of all Christendom, which sees in our Saviour but one Person with two natures, is proved by his opposition to the traditional title of Mother of God applied to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The controversy, begun at Constantinople and continued in Egypt, regarding this title, furnished the occasion for the outburst of this heresy.

The Roman See, with which alone we are concerned, intervened in the controversy only when both Nestorius himself and his first and most eminent opponent, Cyril of Alexandria, had appealed to it for its decision.

We already know something of the character of the Pope of that day from the measures which he took against the Pelagians. His name can still be read in the great gilt-letter inscription on the Basilica of Sta. Sabina, on the Aventine, which was begun by him. "When Celestine occupied the supreme Apostolic Office,

when he shone over all the world as Bishop Primate, this Basilica was founded," &c.[1]

The Patriarch Cyril had written to Celestine, that, conformably with the "custom of the ancient Church," the new dissension in doctrine should be submitted to the Pope; wherefore he was sending the deacon Possidonius with a report, and begged for the Papal decision.[2]

A Roman Synod met in August, 430. Subsequently Pope Celestine communicated to the East its clear, incisive, and irrevocable sentence. The decrees which accompanied it display the spirit of Rome. In view of the rapid spread of the error, Nestorius, the most distinguished bishop of the East, who enjoyed high favour at the Court of the Capital, was threatened with excommunication unless he recanted within ten days of receiving the Papal sentence. Celestine appointed the learned Patriarch of Alexandria as his delegate to see to the execution of this measure, and to take action against the new sect. By the plenitude of Papal power he cancelled the excommunications pronounced by Nestorius with usurped authority, and informed not only the capital on the Bosphorus of these proceedings, but also the leading bishops of the Church, such as Rufus of Thessalonica, Flavian of Philippi, John of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem. In all directions, even to Nestorius himself, he sent fatherly words of warning against the error of heresy.[3]

Such gentle admonitions were particularly suitable in the case of dioceses belonging to the Patriarchate of Antioch. The ancient and famous theological school of Antioch had been the starting-point of the new doctrine; but the school justly enjoyed a very high reputation, and if it had been misled, there was still a hope of its being won back. One ancient distinction of its Doctors had been a certain sober reasonableness and a strictly literal exegesis of Holy Scripture. Now, however, when there seemed a danger of the school passing over into the camp of unbelief,

[1] See text, with photograph, of the inscription in my *Analecta romana*, Pl. 1, n. 2; cp. p. 146. ARMELLINI, *Chiese*[2], p. 581.

[2] "*Vetus ecclesiarum consuetudo est ut*," &c. *Ep.* 11 (al. 9), *ad Coelestinum*. MANSI, 4, 1011; *P.G.*, LXXVII., 80.

[3] To Cyril: MANSI, 4, 1017. To Nestorius: ibid., 1025. To the clergy and people of Constantinople: ibid., 1035; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 372, 374, 375: "*excommunicationes ab eodem (Nestorio) prolatas dissolvit. Cyrillum in ista causa vicarium suum constituit.*" [On Nestorius see, however, DUCHESNE, *Hist. ancienne de l'Église*, vol. iii., p. 313 ff.—*Trans.*]

it was necessary to counteract its undue influence in the East by establishing authoritatively, and yet with due consideration, the rule of the Church's Faith.

Pope Celestine's action, as above described, thus finds its full explanation in the circumstances. On the one hand, the letters quoted, of which we still possess the full text, are as authoritative as could be desired. It is also worthy of note that the Œcumenical Council, which was held shortly after, sanctioned without a murmur the language of the letters and the claims to spiritual authority made therein.

But these documents contain another characteristic of still higher importance; we allude to the warm-hearted, genuine solicitude they betray. Every sentence is instinct with fatherly zeal and with the determination to move all to secure the well-being of the Church and the salvation of souls. The Shepherd, if one might so express it, almost conceals the Primate. Such indeed is the true Primacy of the Roman Church.

223. Circumstances supervened to delay the Papal judgment being carried into effect by Cyril. He had thought it well to convoke a preliminary Synod at Alexandria; but now, on his side, the Emperor Theodosius II. determined to hold an Œcumenical Council. In fact, a writ of summons from Theodosius and his joint-emperor invited the bishops to attend a General Council at **Ephesus.** The Pope announced that he would meanwhile let the penalty stand over, and would await the expected recantation of the author of the trouble. To make clear his assent to the Council he sent legates to Ephesus in the summer, 431. These legates were to give the support of the West to the Eastern Bishop Cyril, who acted as principal representative of the Apostolic See; they were also to see that Cyril carried out all that had been decided at the Roman Council. The Roman legates were Arcadius and Projectus, both of them bishops, and the presbyter Philip.[1]

At the first session, which, in view of the urgency of the business, was held on June 22, the Patriarch Cyril presided alone. The Acts of the Council say expressly that he did so as the Papal delegate; this being also borne out later on by a letter sent by

[1] For Papal letter to the legates, see MANSI, 4, 556; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 378: "*. . . auctoritatem sedis apostolicae custodire debere mandamus . . . ut ad disceptationem si fuerit ventum, vos de eorum sententiis iudicare debeatis, non subire certamen*," &c.

Mennas of Constantinople and other Greek bishops to Pope Vigilius.[1]

The debates at this first session culminated in the official, dogmatic recognition of Mary as true Mother of God. Nestorius and his followers were condemned, agreeably with the Papal sentence: "Compelled by the canons, and in accordance with the letter of our most Holy Father and brother Celestine," runs the statement of the bishops in Council, "we have given judgment against Nestorius."[2]

When, however, shortly afterwards, the Papal legates arrived at Ephesus the session was re-opened at their request, and under the presidency of Cyril and themselves, the minutes of the previous proceedings and the sentence were read and confirmed. The three legates from Rome, as the Acts repeatedly record, assisted as "Executors of the Papal decree." They were also so described in their credentials.[3]

The legates at the same sitting produced a dignified letter from the Pope to the Council. He advised the assembly to protect the Church's peace, on the basis of the true faith. It was first read aloud in Latin and then in Greek. The conclusion of the letter explicitly affirmed that the matter touching the heresy was already settled, and that the legates had only to receive the bishops' assent to the judgment given.[4]

The assembled Fathers, delighted with the letter of their Chief Pastor, exclaimed in concert: "Behold the righteous judgment; thanks to Celestine, the new Paul; thanks to Cyril, the new Paul; thanks to Celestine, the Guardian of the Faith."[5]

Later on, Firmus, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, declared amongst other things, that "the Holy Apostolic See of Bishop Celestine had already in his letters given its decision and directions in the matter. These we have obeyed and carried into effect."[6]

Later **Philip**, the Roman presbyter, addressed the meeting;

[1] HEFELE, 2, 184. Mennas, in MANSI, 9, 62.

[2] . . . κατεπειχθέντες ἀπὸ τε τῶν κανόνων, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ Κελεστίνου. MANSI, 4, 1211.

[3] For instance: "*huius negotii executores*" (MANSI, 4, 1298), words of Arcadius in his discourse.

[4] MANSI, 4, 1283; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 379.

[5] MANSI, 4, 1287; HEFELE, 2, 199.

[6] MANSI, 4, 1288: . . . ψῆφον ἐπέσχε καὶ τύπον τῷ πράγματι, &c. In Mansi ψῦφον appears by mistake.

he seems to have been the ablest of the three legates, and had perhaps received special instructions. Prior to signing the Synodal Acts, this simple priest made a speech to the venerable assembly. His words regarding the Primacy which he was representing, give the speaker an important place in history, though he was the lowest in rank of those present at the Council. It is really an event of historical moment that, in the heart of an Œcumunical Council, the office of the Roman Bishop, as highest guardian of the Faith, and keystone of ecclesiastical unity, should be expounded by the voice of a Latin presbyter, with all simplicity and assurance.

Philip began his oration thus: "No one doubts, since it has been known through all time, that the Keys of Heaven and the power to loose and to bind were bestowed by our Lord and Saviour upon most blessed Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, the pillar of Faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church. Now and for ever Peter lives in his successors, and, through them, exercises his authority. Our Holy Father Celestine, who now occupies his place, has sent us to this Council as his representatives." [1]

After exposing and ratifying the canonical proceedings, Philip then, with the Council, declares Nestorius deposed; his two companions likewise making the same declaration as Papal legates. Among the signatories of this second session the three Western delegates, Philip, Arcadius, and Projectus, with Cyril of Alexandria, again take precedence.

After the Church had been torn by lengthy conflicts and had had much to suffer owing to the followers and friends of Nestorius, such as John of Antioch, and no less owing to the unprincipled attitude of the Imperial Court, Pope Celestine I., in March 432, had at last the satisfaction of congratulating Maximian on his installation at Constantinople in the place of Nestorius.[2]

224. To his successor, Pope Xystus III., it fell to complete the work of peace. In encyclicals, as well as in private letters, Xystus expressed his determination to carry out the decisions of Celestine and of the Council of Ephesus. Still, in a kindly spirit, he offered ready readmission into the Church to John, the

[1] "*Beatissimus Petrus, apostolorum princeps et caput . . . in suis successoribus vivit et iudicium exercet.*" MANSI, 4, 1295.

[2] For letter to Maximian, see MANSI, 5, 269; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 387; cp. n. 385, 386, 388. HEFELE, 2, 249.

Patriarch of Antioch, to his supporters among the bishops, and to the clergy of the Antiochean school, only requiring of them full and frank agreement with the Church's judgment. In accordance with the traditions of his See, he showed himself so tolerant and friendly that he has even been accused of having disapproved of the deposition of Nestorius. This suspicion is indeed removed by both his own letters and those of Cyril; yet, as Xystus had previously been inclined to deal mercifully with the Pelagians, it is quite likely that he again in this other matter strove earnestly to promote the cause of peace, and thereby offended the friends of the previous Pope. Such change of policy is no unusual thing in the history of the Papacy.[1]

Through Cyril's indefatigable zeal the scholars of Antioch were at last won over. To celebrate the first anniversary of his elevation to the Papal throne, Xystus held a council with his bishops in the Vatican Basilica, at which he was able to announce that he had just received from Cyril of Alexandria news of peace. Thanking the Patriarch, Xystus wrote: "This success was a gift of the Apostle Peter granted us when assembled round his tomb. Our Apostle ever presides among us here. With us he was pained when heresy assailed the Faith which had been committed to him. He it is who has now led us to victory." To the former friend of Nestorius, the Patriarch of Antioch, now once again united to the Church, his words are: "The Prince of the Apostles, through his successors, faithfully watches over all he received from Christ. Would that all remained firmly knit to Him. Would that all could hold his sure and simple faith! It is a faith which admits of no contradiction, of no wavering or doubting, but one to which we yield ourselves heart and soul, in order to enter into it ever more and more."[2]

As John of Antioch and his party had now declared themselves willing to apply again to Mary the title of Mother of God, this name may be said to have overcome the heresy and secured the triumph of truth.

225. Just as formerly the Arian controversy had raged round the expression "consubstantial," used by Catholics to denote the relationship between the Son and the Father, so the title of

[1] Letter to Cyril concerning John: MANSI, 5, 375; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 389.

[2] Letter to Cyril: "*B. Petrus in successoribus suis quod accepit, hoc tradidit.*" MANSI, 5, 371; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 391. To John: MANSI, 5, 379; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 392.

Mother of God (Theotokos) formed the focus of discussion in the Nestorian struggle. Whoever accepted the title showed that he also acknowledged, according to the Church's mind, the union of the two natures, Divine and human, in the single Person of Christ. In consequence of the defeat of Nestorianism, the respect and veneration shown to the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Church from time immemorial received a fresh impetus. East and West vied with each other in doing homage to that chosen vessel of the human race who could dare to call our Saviour her son.

The general conviction of Christendom, and its lofty feelings of gratitude and praise for Mary, are best expressed in a sermon preached by Cyril at the time of the Council of Ephesus, which reads like an Eastern commentary on a Roman memorial of which we shall speak immediately. With enthusiasm the champion of the Church's faith exclaims: "All hail, Mary, Mother of God; most precious treasure of the universe, light unextinguishable, glorious crown of virginity, indestructible temple, mother and maiden in one. Of thee was born he of whom the Gospel saith: Hosanna to him that cometh in the name of the Lord; we greet thee, who wast deemed worthy to bear the Eternal One in thy virgin womb; through thee all honour and glory to the ever Blessed Trinity. . . . Who can ever praise thee according to thy due?"[1]

The Holy See was not to be outdone in manifesting its reverence for the Holy Mother of God. The oldest church known to have been dedicated to our Lady, was erected by Pope Silvester beside the heathen temple of Vesta on the Forum. This is the church of *S. Maria Antiqua*, now known as Santa Maria Liberatrice, and of which we have already spoken.[2] But now, after the triumph of Ephesus, a new glorious memorial, which also exists to the present day, was established in Rome.

Soon after the Œcumenical Council, Pope Xystus rebuilt almost in its entirety the Basilica on the Esquiline erected by Liberius, and dedicated it to the Mother of God, adorning it with magnificent mosaics depicting the story of Mary and the childhood of Christ. This is the church of Santa Maria Maggiore,

[1] *Hom.*, 4 *inter diversas*, *P.G.*, LXXVII., 1029. The homily was preached in Ephesus at the time of the Council. "It is the most famous of ancient sermons on Mary" (BARDENHEWER, *Patrologie*, p. 339).

[2] De Rossi considered that Santa Maria Maggiore was, after that of Ephesus, the oldest church of our Lady of which the date is established. Cp. *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1892, p. 54. After what has been said above (vol. i., p. 244), we must allow that Santa Maria Liberatrice is older.

the most celebrated of all churches dedicated to our Lady. The series of mosaics on the triumphal arch, with which end the majestic lines of white Parian marble pillars in the nave, is a remembrance of the victory of Faith over the Nestorian heresy, and of the new honour accruing to Mary. The church in question may thus be ranked in a certain sense as an historical monument, similar to the doctrinal inscription of Xystus III. upon the entablature of the Lateran Baptistery commemorating the defeat of Pelagianism, though here the memorial is on a far vaster scale.[1]

It is at the same time the finest piece of mosaic work executed in Rome during the fifth century. The traditional character of Roman art governs the pictures. The strength of conception of the figures places the work on the same artistic level as the almost contemporary carving on the main portals of Santa Sabina on the Aventine.[2]

The triumphal arch bears at its summit the inscription in golden characters: "Xystus, the bishop, to the people of God."[3] Above this is shown the throne of God surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, and the Apostles Peter and Paul.

The historical scenes begin on the left. On the first picture, of which we here give a photograph (Ill. 84), we see the Blessed Virgin, richly robed and seated upon a throne on a high pedestal, while an angel, floating down like the classic figure of Victory, brings the tidings of the Incarnation of the Son of God. The Holy Ghost is descending as a dove upon Mary. Two angels, represented as usual with wings, stand reverently behind her, and form as it were her court. Two other angels at the same time bring to St. Joseph the assurance that "that which shall be born of her is of the Holy Ghost." The other angel, who also seems to be speaking to Mary, is either placed there simply to fill in the gap between the two scenes, or possibly depicts the Angel of the Annunciation, represented above as descending, as now arrived. The connecting of different scenes by the addition of

[1] The consecration took place on August 5, and the feast of the "Dedication of St. Mary's" has always been kept on that day, though, later on, the title was altered to that of "Dedication of St. Mary of the Snows," this being the result of the subsequent legend. See vol. i., p. 197 note, on the decision of the congregation appointed by Benedict XIV.

[2] Reproduced in DE ROSSI, *Musaici sec. V.* GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 211 ff. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 235. For the style of the doors of Sta. Sabina compared with the mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore see GRISAR, *Analecta romana*, 1, 450, 454.

[3] "XYSTVS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI."

Ill. 84.—The Annunciation and the Visit of the Magi. (Fifth-century mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore.)

figures which strictly do not belong there is no strange feature in the Roman art of that day, as we may see on the right portion of this very picture. The house behind St. Joseph resembles an oratory in its construction. The curtains at the entrance are drawn back, and allow us to see a lamp hanging inside. According to the rules of harmony then in vogue, on the opposite side there corresponds another similar open edifice, adorned with a classic shield, serving to fill up the triangular space under the gable.

Next, on the right, follows the mosaic with the Presentation of the Holy Child in the Temple, of which we give here (Ill. 85) the first large photographic reproduction to be made public. Mary, again accompanied by two angels, is passing through the colonnade which symbolises the Temple. As before, she is richly clad. A golden cross above the nimbus shows the dignity of the Child. At the moment when the Mother of God appears, Simeon quits the group of priests, and, with the quick steps of new-found youth, hastens towards her. He respectfully stretches forth his hands covered with his pallium that he may receive the Child, and makes ready to acclaim in the Son of Mary the salvation of the Gentiles. This event also has evidently been chosen as an allusion to Mary's dignity as mother of the world's Saviour. The space between Mary and Simeon is filled up by figures which connect both sides of the scene. There is the widowed Anna with raised arms preparing to announce the Godhead of Christ, and St. Joseph as elucidator of the mystery, accompanied by an angel in the background.[1]

Further on, to the right, is a scene which is not found in the Bible, but only in the Apocrypha; it is an episode of the Flight into Egypt, in which the Divinity of the Child is glorified, in the presence of his mother, by two pagans, a prince and a philosopher. Beneath is Herod's interview with the three Wise Men from the East. The crafty King, in spite of the part he is playing, has here a nimbus round his head, this being the ancient manner of denoting earthly rank. Mary, on the contrary, has no nimbus on any of these pictures, though it is given to the angels and the Divine Infant.

[1] Our Ill. 85 omits a part of the picture to the right and left. What is missing here may be supplied from GARRUCCI, Pl. 212, 2. On the left there is another of the two angels accompanying Mary; on the right a standing figure and four heads belonging to the group behind Simeon. Still further to the right is a temple, in front of which is an angel, possibly warning St. Joseph to betake himself into Egypt.

The continuation of the series of pictures is on the left side of the arch. In a grand original piece of work we have the visit of the Magi to Christ. The scene will be found in the lower portion of Ill. 84. The Saviour, as a boy, in token of His Divinity, sits on a spacious bejewelled throne. On His right, on a lower throne, is seated His Blessed Mother, again clad as a sovereign. Behind her Son are four attendant angels, and, between them, the Star. Two of the Wise Men, in Eastern attire, approach with their gifts from the right, where also we perceive the city of Bethlehem. The third of the Magi formerly had a place on the left, but the portion of the mosaic containing his figure has disappeared. The figure seated on a throne to the left of Christ has been inserted agreeably with the prevailing rules of harmony, being required as a pendant to Mary. It serves to represent either a lady-in-waiting to Mary, or a nurse of the Infant. St. Joseph, who does not appear in the picture, may have stood by the missing Magus.

The last picture on this side, the Massacre of the Innocents, with the group of mothers expressing their distress in the dignified classical way, has also some association with the Divinity of Christ ; for it was on account of His Divinity that earthly malice failed to outdo the Child, and that His mother was saved from the ordeal of the other matrons of Bethlehem. At the base of the arch, on both sides, may be seen the usual types of Jerusalem, and of Bethlehem, and the sheep. Under the gaily decorated archivault we see the monogram of Christ, with the Alpha and Omega, though here in a form different from that of Pope Siricius on the pillar in the Basilica of St. Paul already described. There must be some special reason why these mosaics contain no representation of the Birth of Christ. Probably at the time of Xystus the Basilica was already in possession of the imitation of the Crib of Bethlehem, from which, in the following century, it derived its name of *S. Maria ad praesepe*, as we have it in an inscription still extant. This Chapel of the Crib, or manger, in the vicinity of the High-Altar, would have made superfluous a representation of the same subject among the mosaics.[1]

The inside of the wall at the entrance was adorned by Pope

[1] Cp. Grisar, *Antichità e significato della denominazione S. Maria ad Praesepe*, in *Civiltà cattol.*, 1895, IV., 470 ff.

Ill. 53.—The Presentation in the Temple. (Fifth-century mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore.)

Xystus with a mosaic showing a great figure of Mary surrounded by various martyrs. Under this picture he placed the metrical dedicatory inscription of his new church. The poem takes the form of an address to the Mother of God, and proclaims that it had been the desire of Xystus to dedicate a new building worthy of her to the Blessed Virgin: "Thou mother, who didst know no man, hast brought us salvation, becoming fruitful without losing thy virginity. Behold, the martyrs who died for thy Son offer thee their crowns, each with the instrument of his martyrdom at his feet—the sword or fire, the wild beasts, the river or the poison. They were overtaken by divers forms of death, but their crown is one and the same."[1]

The Papacy at Home

226. Looking back on the century of the Roman Primacy from Julius I. to Xystus III., which we have briefly described, we cannot fail to notice that almost all the Popes are described either as Romans or as belonging to the neighbourhood of Rome.

The choice of a Pope was, in the first instance, the choice of a bishop for the Church of Rome. It was natural, therefore, that the Romans should usually elect a member of their own clergy; nor is it surprising that by far the greater part of the clergy belonged to the city and suburbs of Rome. After Pope Damasus, who is said to have been of Spanish origin, the *Liber pontificalis* enumerates Siricius and Anastasius I. as Romans, like the earlier Popes Silvester, Mark, Julius, and Liberius. Innocent I. is called *natione Albanensis;* he came from Albano, formerly known as Albanum Cæsaris, a rising town of the Campagna. Zosimus, his successor, stands alone, though in later times many Greeks were to ascend the Papal throne. Our authority describes Boniface I.

[1] For the poem "*Virgo Maria, tibi Xystus nova tecta dicavi*," &c., see *Analecta rom.*, I, 77. The figures of the martyrs alluded to in the text stood most likely on the inside wall above the entrance beside Mary, and not, as Duchesne opines, between the windows on both sides of the nave. They were bringing their crowns to Mary ("*tibi praemia portant*"). Had their position been what Duchesne supposes, they would have been turning their backs on the High Altar, which is scarcely likely. Besides, the figures were probably not numerous enough to form long rows. I am inclined to think that they were five in number, with Xystus himself as a sixth, each with the symbol of his manner of death under his feet: "*ferrum, flamma, fera, fluvius, saevumque venenum*" (v. 7). No reliance can be placed on the chronology of J. P. RICHTER AND A. C. CAMERON, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art* (1904), so far as the antiquity of the mosaics is concerned.

as *Romanus*, Celestine I. as *Campanus*, and Xystus III. as *Romanus*.[1]

Going on further we next find Leo the Great, in the fifth century, described as *Tuscus*, Hilary as *Sardus*, Simplicius as *Tiburtinus*, Felix III. as *Romanus*, Gelasius as *Afer*, Anastasius II. as *Romanus*, and Pope Symmachus as *Sardus*. The last had come unbaptized to Rome from the island of Sardinia, where paganism had long held its ground, and had received baptism in his new home.[2] We do not hear that the Papal elections were disturbed by national jealousy or by selfish wrangling among different provinces; but other motives, principally ambition and lust of power, were frequently responsible for the setting up of rival candidates, who, by gathering about them their supporters, caused grave dissensions.

The pontificate of Damasus was much disquieted at its commencement, and even later, by the pretensions of Bishop **Ursinus** and his adherents who belonged to the sect of the Luciferians. Popular tumults led to bloodshed even in the churches, and cast a dark shadow upon the rule of Damasus, the rightful bishop. Ursinus and his party again raised a riot at the election of Siricius. Under each of these Popes the Imperial power was exerted in defence of the legitimate Head of the Church.[3]

When, later on, Boniface I. was chosen, ambition and party feeling at once took the field against him, causing great mischief. The election had been held in the customary manner by the Roman clergy, with the acclamation of the populace and of the leading people of the city. About seventy priests signed the deed of election, and Boniface received episcopal consecration in the presence of nine bishops of various provinces then staying in Rome. Whilst the service for the repose of the soul of Boniface's predecessor was still in progress, his rival, the Archdeacon **Eulalius**, had begun his evil work at the Lateran Basilica, and was successful in persuading the Bishop of Ostia—possibly by threats—to consecrate and enthrone him as Pope. The Bishop of Ostia, as occupant of the largest diocese in the neighbourhood of Rome, had the prerogative of consecrating the Bishop of

[1] Cp. HARNACK, *Über die Herkunft der* 48 (47) *ersten Päpste*, Berlin, 1904.

[2] For Symmachus, see DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 263, note 1.

[3] Valentinian I. on the election of Siricius (*Ep.* 2 *ad Pinian.*): "*Quoniam religiosum Siricium antistitem sanctitatis praeesse sacerdotio sic voluerunt, ut Ursinum improbum acclamationibus violarent, nostro cum gaudio memoratus episcopus ipse permaneat.*"

Rome; he alone could invest the new Pope with the Pallium, though the rule was for the Bishops of Albanum and of Portus to assist him at the consecration. But, in spite of the concurrence of the Bishop of Ostia, Eulalius failed to secure recognition, and was reckoned an intruder. The Emperor Honorius rejected his election, and then instituted a suit against him for repeated violations of the law.[1]

After this the Papal elections of the fifth century again took place peacefully. It was not till the very end of the century that the interference of German rulers, anxious to follow the example of the Arians and Byzantines, again brought confusion.

227. The glamour which very early surrounded the Bishop of Rome was certainly likely to become a temptation and rouse the ambition of the worldly-minded members of the higher clergy. That occasionally the highest spiritual dignity would be sought from sordid motives was in no wise unlikely, human nature being what it is.

The steadily increasing importance in the social position of the Popes was an outcome of the increase in their ecclesiastical dignity, with which it proceeded hand in hand. The Bishop of Rome found himself involved in countless civil and political affairs of the City and of Italy. State legislation not only justified, but even demanded, his intervention, requiring, as it did, that the bishops should have a large share in the civil government of the Empire. The protection of the suffering and helpless was left to them; they had full jurisdiction over the clergy, and could settle matters in dispute between clergy and laity, and between all parties who chose voluntarily to appeal to them, even in purely civil matters. The episcopal sentence might also be executed by the secular arm, though the bishops refrained from sitting in cases where the crime was a capital one. They also held a certain right of supervision over government departments and the administration of justice, besides having joint control over municipal property. The rulers well knew that, at that decadent period, their own officials were not to be depended on. Consequently everywhere, but more especially in Italy, so far removed from the headquarters of the Government, the privileges and dignity of the bishops increased. This must have been particularly the case with the Bishops of Rome.

[1] Edicts of Honorius in BARONIUS, *ad ann.* 419, n. 30, 33.

We may here cite the Bishopric of Milan as an instance in point, as we have a description of St. Ambrose's daily *audientia*. At this "audience," which he, like other bishops, was wont to hold, he was approached by people of every class who had recourse to him for all sorts of purposes, oftentimes for matters of a wholly secular character, or to seek his advice or arbitration. His integrity and unselfishness, and his keen knowledge of the world, made him to be sought after by all. One can well believe that a similar state of affairs prevailed in Rome, particularly when the Pope was a man of high personal standing, or had held office in the State before entering the Church, or belonged to a respected senatorial family.

The spiritual head of the world's metropolis also shared the fascination exercised by the name of the City of Rome. Any one taking the lead in public affairs there would naturally speak with authority throughout the rest of Italy. The removal of the Imperial residence and the absence of the Court had the effect that, both in the country and in Rome itself, the eyes of all were fixed upon the Pope. We have already seen above, how the Popes occupied themselves in momentous State matters and in embassies for the sake of Rome and of Italy generally.

A material foundation was also created for the Roman Bishops by rich donations of landed property. These possessions gradually grew into groups of so-called "Patrimonies," thanks to the revenues of which the Popes could practise liberality on a vast scale. In Rome the support of the poor and needy was gradually delegated to the Church. In course of time it was left to the Church to bestow the gifts formerly distributed by the Government, the so-called *annona*. Even the squares and buildings where the *frumentatio* was performed of old became, as we shall see, after the sixth century, regular and official centres for distribution of the Papal alms.

If we add to the dignity with which all these worldly functions invested the Roman Bishops, the wealth and magnificence of their churches, especially of the Lateran and St. Peter's, the splendour of the liturgy and other services performed in them, the veneration shown to the Pope as Supreme Pontiff by faithful pilgrims to Rome, and even by sovereigns, who were only too happy to prostrate themselves before the tomb of Peter, and leave their precious gifts on the altars of the Apostles, then we shall see why

the Papal dignity stood forth even outwardly as an office of the greatest honour. The Popes took precedence over the highest representatives of the Emperor. Even the Emperors, when they appeared in public, gave way to bishops, as to a higher power. In processions the Emperor Marcian had Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, borne in a litter, while he himself went on foot. The Emperors Leo I. and Justinian, on similar occasions, also made the Patriarch ride in their State carriage, while they walked.

The Romans, moreover, set such store on external parade that, on pain of seeing their prestige diminished, the Popes could not afford to dispense with a certain amount of outward show, by which they impressed the populace and enhanced their authority. Even the latest hostile critic of the Papacy is willing to allow that "the Roman Bishops were not to be blamed for having surrounded their office with some outward pomp."[1]

We possess two independent allusions emanating from heathen Romans to the outward magnificence of the Papacy. One is by the statesman Praetextatus. According to St. Jerome, the pagan Praetextatus, who had attained the dignity of a Consul-designate, was wont to say jestingly to Pope Damasus that he would gladly become a Christian if they would only elect him Bishop of Rome. The other comes from Zosimus. This heathen historian, when speaking of the struggle between Ursinus and Damasus, labours to paint the position of the Bishop of Rome in the worst possible colours, as an office begetting greed, and to be obtained only by party strife. In Rome, he says, everything is on so grand a scale that no efforts are too great for those who desire this office. Having attained their aim, they may rest assured that they will be well rewarded with the gifts of the matrons. They can drive about the city in carriages and rich apparel. They can give richer banquets than any king. And yet, he adds, in a fit of stoicism, they would in truth be happier did they despise the pomp of the city, and follow the example of many provincial bishops, who make themselves agreeable to the eternal Deity and His true worshippers by moderation in eating and drinking, by simplicity in dress, by the modesty of their downcast eyes, and by pure and virtuous lives. Such are the sentiments of a pagan.[2]

[1] RADE, *Damasus*, p. 49.

[2] Praetextatus, in HIERON. *Contra Ioan. Ierus.*, n. 8 (*P.L.*, XXIII., 355). AMM. MARC., 27, n. 3.

228. Christian contemporaries, and even strict moralists—for instance, St. Jerome—generally speak with commendation and respect of the personal character of the Popes with whom they were brought into contact. Jerome has warm praise and appreciation for Anastasius I. and Innocent I. Damasus he calls "a man wonderfully well versed in Holy Writ—the Virgin Teacher of the Virgin Church." Though the party of Ursinus represented their opponent as a remorseless persecutor, and slandered him in every way, there is more likelihood in the portrait left of him by Rufinus, Socrates, and Sozomen, and in the supposition that his was really the persecuted party. He is highly spoken of by Theodoret as "distinguished by the adornment of very many virtues."

His predecessor, Pope Liberius, is not only honoured by Ambrose with the title of "Blessed," but is also described by him as widely esteemed on account of his virtue. The Greeks, Epiphanius and Basil, extol him as "most Blessed" and "most holy."[1]

Going back farther, we find three Popes of the fourth century, Julius I., Mark, and Silvester, whose names as early as 354 were already in the Roman calendar of feasts. They were therefore venerated publicly at a date when their memory was yet quite fresh.[2]

The Church of Rome also felt justified in ascribing sanctity to their successors, with the sole exception of Zosimus. All the others, down to 422, whom we met above, were reckoned saints, their names standing in the most reliable extant martyrological authority, viz. in that which bears the name of Jerome, though it was not compiled by him, but by an anonymous writer in the time of Xystus III. As this so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* ends, so far as Italy is concerned, with the years immediately following Celestine I., the last of which it includes a commemoration was that of Celestine's predecessor, Boniface I. The Martyrology also commemorates the latter's consecration day, and likewise those of Innocent I. and Liberius.[3]

[1] JEROME, *Ep.* 48, n. 17; RUFINUS, *Hist. eccl.*, II., 10 *P.L.*, XXI., 521; SOCRATES, IV., 29 *P.G.*, LXVII., 541; SOZOM., VI., 23 *P.G.*, 1348; THEODOR., II., 17 *P.G.*, LXXXII., 1052: παμπόλλοις δὲ ἀρετῆς κοσμούμενος εἴδεσιν. Cp. *Zeitsch. für kath. Theol.*, 8 (1884), 192, on the opposite view of Rade. AMBROSE, *De virg.*, 3, c. 1. For the history of the worship given to Pope Liberius, see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. arch. crist.*, 1883, p. 56 ff., and in the *Katholik*, 1884, I., 16; also my own article *Liberius* in the *Kirchenlexikon*, 7², 1950.

[2] *Depositio episcoporum* (A.D. 354), in DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 10.

[3] *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, ed. DE ROSSI and DUCHESNE, in *Acta SS.*, II. Nov.

The Eastern Church also included in its liturgy the feasts of many of the Popes we have named, for at that time schism had not yet broken the bond and rendered mutual appreciation impossible. The so-called Menology of St. Basil repeatedly adds to their names panegyrics in the Greek style. It is worth noting that the Greek office compares Pope Silvester to "an overshadowing cloud, which divided the faithful from the [Arian] errors of Egypt, and ever led them, with unerring doctrine, to the Divine Light."[1]

The Church's gratitude in this way kept alive the memory of the pastors who had ruled her, and of the cares and troubles which they had experienced in their zeal for the House of God. Their office was in truth one which involved far more solicitude and anxiety than earthly grandeur.

229. Perusing the remains—mere fragments of the imposing mass of correspondence emanating from the Lateran—which have been collected by the care of Coustant, Thiel, Jaffé, and others, we can, with their aid, form some idea of the wearisome labours imposed upon the Pope's scribes, advisers, and helpers by the interest of the Universal Church. We can well understand how the Popes themselves in their letters sorrowfully speak of their office as an onerous post, full of responsibility. Everywhere the consciousness is expressed of their urgent duty, and the anxiety lest their own strength should prove insufficient for their exalted task. Yet courage never failed them, and we cannot read far into their letters without encountering the expression of their confidence in the Divine Guide, who ever stands by His Church and His faithful servants in time of danger. In the unpretentious but thoroughly authentic monument which the early Papacy created for itself in its letters, not the slightest trace will be found of any worldly pride or attempt to make vain parade of the Primacy. Those people will be sorely deceived who read these letters under the prejudice—now happily exploded so far as historical circles are concerned—that the Roman Bishops, aiming only at power and influence, were always on the lookout for opportunities to interfere, in order to entangle the whole Church in the nets of a Primacy invented by them-

[1] Cp. NILLES, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* (2. ed., 1896), for Silvester, I., 51 : νεφέλη σκιάζουσα . . . πρὸς θείαν αὐγὴν μεταφέρουσα ταῖς ἀπλανέσι διδαχαῖς ἑκάστοτε.

selves. For such a supposition there is not a tittle of evidence, and we have already given countless proofs to the contrary. We have seen how, in case after case, the Popes decided to intervene either because they were assailed by appeals from the East or from the West, or because the Church's peace, or doctrines, or ordinances, or the moral law made their interference necessary.

The reader of these letters will be struck not only by the burden of responsibility which lay on the Bishops of Rome, but also by their burden of sorrow, anxiety, and disappointment. This becomes evident in cases of obstinate conflicts within the Church's pale, after disastrous failures and when harsh and jealous constructions were placed upon the steps taken by the Popes. Misfortunes such as the last cannot fail to occur so long as the administration of the Church rests in human hands. The Papal registers show abundantly that men of the utmost piety were sometimes the cause of bitter pain to their ecclesiastical superiors, through mistrust or self-will, or through resisting Papal measures even without thereby calling the Primacy into question.

To take a case in point: African Councils and whole provinces of the Church in the first half of the fifth century undertook to defend against Rome their own view regarding the matter of appeals, and did so with great obstinacy and no small heat. The Popes were indeed offended by their attitude of independence, though the Africans had no thought of unsettling the authority of Rome. Likewise, when the African Bishops denounced Pelagius to Pope Zosimus with more than usual warmth, the Pope, in his reply, was at no pains to conceal his irritation. Yet the bishops were not actuated by any enmity to the Primacy, but wholly by their eminently praiseworthy desire to put an end to a dangerous sect. In this instance it is possible, too, that the hot blood of the Africans may have influenced unduly their language.

Though fully conscious of the need of brotherly union and of obedient submission to Peter, the old self-assertiveness of the Roman, the characteristic spirit of the various provinces, and, at a later date, the independence of the newly converted nations, often led even pious bishops to use language as forcible as it was natural. To us their conduct may appear blunt and disrespectful, but in reality it involved nothing worthy of censure. Nor can obedience to Rome have been equally easy to all, particularly when the Popes were less highly gifted, or less distinguished by

their deeds or sufferings than was the case, for instance, with such great defenders of the Church against heresy and schism as Athanasius, Basil, or Cyril of Alexandria. Others by their personal talents often towered far above the modest occupant of St. Peter's See. But it is very instructive to observe how, nevertheless, the feeling was rife that the doctrinal authority of this venerable See outweighed the brilliancy of writers, the profundity of scholars, and even the strength of great characters. The famous Fathers of the Church disperse, indeed, the mists of error and heal the wounds of distracted Churches. But it is the divinely appointed dignity of the Bishop of Rome which in all struggles has restored the balance of minds. Conformity to his doctrine and communion with him, even for the most learned champions of the Church, are a pledge that they are not wandering through the labyrinths of error, but stand with the successors of Peter upon the Rock of Truth.

The Pontificate which follows that of Xystus III. shows how high could be the dignity of the Primacy when held by a man equally brilliant as a Bishop, a Father of the Church, and a statesman. The successor of Xystus was Leo the Great (440-461).

The extant letters of Pope Leo are far more numerous than those of all his predecessors taken together. These letters minutely describe the spiritual government of Rome at the time of the declining Western Empire. Although the letters, 143 in number, are not the original collection from the Lateran archives, nor even selected thence, they nevertheless afford us considerable information (considerable, that is, in comparison with the little known of earlier ages) of the working of the Roman Primacy.[1]

Pope Leo the Great

230. No previous Pope, nor any one of his successors until Gregory the Great, was enabled by circumstances to exert so great and permanent an influence upon the progress of the Church as Leo I.

[1] PERTZ says (*Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 5 (1824), 20: "The letters of Leo I. are . . . not fragments of his *Regestum*, but have been gleaned here and there." He is here referring to the printed collection, probably to the excellent edition of Leo's works by the brothers BALLERINI (Venet. 1753–1757). The quotations in our text will be from this edition, which has been reprinted by Migne (see *P.L.*, LIV.–LVI., for the letters, with Ballerini's introduction, LIV., 551–1213).

His peculiar and historic merit lies in the fact that, with the help of providence, he kept alive the consciousness of unity at a time when Roman State organisation was collapsing in the West, whilst in the East heretical onslaughts were bringing the Church to the verge of an abyss.

The political bond uniting the West, which had rendered such invaluable services to the spread and consolidation of the Faith, was now burst asunder, though not before it had been replaced by a new and imperishable union of the nations in one Faith, under the one shelter of the Church and her one spiritual chief, who with Old Rome as his headquarters was universally revered, and ruled all consciences with that authority which Christ vested in St. Peter. In Leo's day the East was wrangling over doctrinal difficulties and losing all its power by disunion. To its help came the Roman Church, successfully straining every nerve to preserve her Eastern sister-Churches—almost against their will—in the quickening Communion of Faith. With the assistance of the Pope the most brilliant Œcumenical Council of antiquity imposed on all consciences the dogmatic decision which the Bishop of Rome had already pronounced, a very beacon, which then, and later, amidst the rocks and shoals which compass the doctrine of Christ's two-fold nature, was to lead back erring ones to unity. "Throughout the world," writes Leo to Constantinople, "we are linked together by the unbroken bond of our chaste union. . . . Let us respect this unity and love this lofty spiritual alliance. . . . The Faith which is its support has been so fortified by God that no malicious heresy can weaken, no heathen superstition destroy it. . . ." "Through the Christian faith," he says further on, "the city of Rome holds wider sway than through her earthly rule."[1]

Should the reader, however, be inclined to fancy that this Pontificate consisted mainly in a triumphal progress of a great Pope through his era, he will soon be undeceived by Leo's letters. They reflect, in the manner described above, the laborious and anxious office of a shepherd of souls. In them we obtain a glimpse into the tedious way in which the oversight of the bishoprics claims the Pope's care, particularly the supervision of

[1] *Ep.* 80, n. 1. *Serm.* 3, n. 3 (on firmness of Faith). See this and other corresponding passages in *Il primato romano nel secolo V., secondo i detti di san Leone Magno e dei suoi contemporanei*, in *Analecta romana*, 1, 307–332. *Serm.* 82, n. 1: "*ut per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena.*"

his own province in Italy. There were questions to be settled by his supreme power, jurisdiction to be conferred to deal with others, and censure and encouragement to be duly meted out after investigation of the circumstances. The great questions of the day force themselves also into notice, usually not from their brighter side for the Papacy, but with the weighty and responsible tasks which they entailed upon the occupant of Peter's See.

"A thing to shudder at" is what Leo calls the throne of Peter with its responsibilities; he will, however, remain in this "bondage" in the service of God and of souls, and bear this "servitude" in which his office has placed him. The grandeur, which attracts and pleases him, is not the outward pomp of his office, but that inward strength of soul which comes by "Faith, Hope, and Charity." Though feeling that the task imposed by his post is beyond him, he consoles himself by thinking that "the worthiness of Peter will not be lessened by the unworthiness of his heir."[1]

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231. Leo's solicitude for the faithful in Rome, who stood under his immediate supervision, led him during the early days of his Pontificate to detect a growing **Manichæan** influence in the city. The Manichæan sect, which was banned even by the State, was notorious for its disgraceful immorality. The Bishop showed the utmost zeal in his action against this relic of Paganism in Rome, which, according to Leo, should shine before the rest of Christendom as a "royal and priestly city."[2]

He had the books of the Manichæans gathered together and burnt, warned the people in sermons, recommended good works, prayer, and fasting, as efficient means of preserving religion, and handed over the refractory to the State to be punished by exile. He informed the bishops of Italy of what he had discovered and of the steps he had taken. The united vigilance of the episcopate, the imitation, even in the East, of the example set by Leo, and the putting in force by Valentinian III. of the older penal enact-

[1] "*Materia trepidationis*" — "*Opus ministerii*" (*Serm.* 5, n. 4). "*Petri, fer. et caritas*" (ibid., n. 2). "*Petri dignitas etiam in indigno hærede non deficit*" (*Serm.* 3, n. 3).

[2] ". . . *gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia*" (*Serm.* 82, n. 1).

ments, erected a barrier against further encroachments of the pernicious sect.[1]

Certain decrees sent by Pope Leo to the Archbishops of Aquileia and Ravenna give us a vivid glance into the sad state of public affairs, and the misery of the people during the incursions of the barbarian nations. The Church here again endeavoured to re-establish order and console the sufferers. The Pope settled the questions of such marriages as were interrupted by the captivity of one or other of the parties; the difficulties which arose through people joining in the idolatrous rites of the barbarians; those which concerned the administration of the sacraments to victims of persecution, and many other such-like points.[2]

Leo's intervention was called for in Spain, in consequence of the melancholy accounts sent him about the progress there of **Priscillianism.** He ordered Bishop Turibius of Astorga, in whom he placed special confidence, to organise a General Council of all the Spanish Bishops. A *Commonitorium* on the Priscillian heresy, written by the Pope, was to be laid before the Council for its guidance, and Papal letters with the text of the doctrinal formulary were despatched to all the Bishops of the country. In consequence of the political situation, the proposed Spanish Council never took place after all, for Spain was being rent asunder by barbarian immigrants. Two partial Synods were however held. They served, on the one hand, to purge and stimulate the episcopate, of which the doctrine was not altogether above suspicion, and, on the other, to confirm the orthodox people in their Faith.[3]

Leo also found disorders rife in the episcopate of pro-consular Africa. There the Vandals had not yet penetrated, but the relaxation of discipline, which usually accompanied the irruption of new nations into the old provinces of the Empire, was already rampant. Bishop Potentius, deputed by Leo as his legate, had to

[1] Leo, *Serm.* 16, *Prosp. Chron.*, ad a. 447. Valentinian III., decree of June 19, 445, *P.L.*, LIV., 622: "*Nobis tutum non est negligere tam detestandam divinitatis iniuriam.*" Leo's principle was: "*Contra communes hostes pro salute communi una omnium debet esse vigilantia*" (Hom. cit.).

[2] *Ep.* 159, to Archbishop Nicetas of Aquileia. *Ep.* 166, to Archbishop Neonas of Ravenna.

[3] *Ep.* 15 *ad Turibium Asturicensem episc.*, written in 447. Leo speaks in this of the *epistola*, the *commonitorium*, and the *libellus* of Turibius. He says: "*plenissimo disquiratur examine, an sint aliqui inter episcopos*," &c. On the two Councils—at Toledo, probably in 447, and "*in municipio Cetenensi*" (Province of Gallæcia)—see Mansi, 3, 1002 ff.; Hefele, 2, 306.

take steps against bishops inducted in flagrant violation of the Church's canons. The Pope firmly insisted on the observance of the laws for episcopal election and consecration; nevertheless he was willing, so he intimated, "mindful of the customary indulgence of the Apostolic See," to leave in possession of their office those who had been suddenly promoted from the laity to a bishopric, unless indeed other impediments called for their expulsion.[1]

In Africa, as elsewhere, the activity of the Primate in supervising the dioceses, compensated for the negligence of the bishops, due sometimes to want of zeal or ability, sometimes to the misfortunes of the age.

232. It was necessary that the church provinces of Gaul should be linked up more closely with the centre of the Church, if the Catholics were not to be overwhelmed by the Arian Visigoths, who were establishing themselves in Gaul as well as in Spain. In most of the Germanic States despotism was the only law. Pope Leo accordingly sought to place the existing Apostolic **Vicariate of Arles** on a firmer footing. The city of Arles was the principal seat of government for the territories still under Roman sway. An arrangement contemplated previously was now introduced, whereby the Archbishop of Arles should not only rule his own province, but also, as delegate of the Apostolic See, supervise ecclesiastical discipline in the whole of Gaul. The Pope subordinated to Ravennius of Arles nearly the whole province of Vienne, leaving to the Archbishop of Vienne only his own Metropolitan See, with the dioceses of Valentia, Tarantasia, Genava, and Gratianopolis as suffragans.[2]

This division, after having been altered for a while under Anastasius II., was confirmed anew by Pope Symmachus. It excited great jealousy during the Middle Ages, and, to overthrow it, a whole series of spurious deeds, Papal and otherwise, were forged.

[1] *Ep.* 12: "*Universis episcopis per Caesariensem Mauritaniam constitutis.*" Leo says he has sent Potentius "*pro sollicitudine, quam universae ecclesiae ex divina institutione dependimus*"; and further on: "*cogimur secundum sedis apostolicae pietatem nostram temperare sententiam.*"

[2] *Ep.* 66, to the Bishops of the Province of Arles: "*Viennensis episcopus . . . vicinis sibi quattuor oppidis praesidebit, id est . . .*" Then follow the names given above, *i.e.* in their modern form, Valence, Tarantaise, Geneva, and Grenoble. For the previous differences between Leo and Hilary of Arles, cp. *Ep.* 10 and 11, my article *Leo I.* (*Kirchenlexikon* 7², 1762) and the works of SCHMITZ and DUCHESNE, quoted above (vol. i. p. 345, note 3).

As the Pope's vicar, Ravennius assembled a Synod at Arles in 451, consisting of forty-four bishops from different parts of Gaul. We still have the text of the respectful address sent by the Synod to the Holy See. According to the custom of that day, the subscribers added to their names a form of salutation: "I greet your Apostleship; your Holiness; your Beatitude; or your Crown."[1]

One of Leo's most serious encounters with highly placed bishops was in Eastern Illyricum. There he had actually to shield the rights of the simple Metropolitans against the Vicar of the Apostolic See, Anastasius of **Thessalonica.** Ever desirous of defending right and justice, the Pope declared that he would make it a matter of honour to defend the dignity of his episcopal brethren against any vain assumption of supremacy. Anastasius, oblivious of his rightful authority, had treated his subordinate bishops with harshness. His plan seems to have been to play the Metropolitan over all the provinces of the country. A letter of censure from the watchful Pontiff disturbed his proceedings. Perhaps in no other epistle does Leo write so sternly. The letter, moreover, seems to have been wholly written by him, for it displays the well-known style of the homilies; on the other hand, many of the other letters evidently emanate from the Papal chancery.[2]

233. This remarkable document acquaints us with the principles which the Pope had traced out for his own guidance in the high position he occupied. "Whoever is placed above others, and declines to bear patiently a heavy burden on his own shoulders, must not presume to impose an unbearable load on another. We are all disciples of a Master, lowly and gentle, who has said: 'Learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls. For My yoke is sweet, and My burden light.' This we shall certainly never experience in ourselves, if we do not follow out the other words of the Master: 'Whosoever will be greater among you, let him be your minister,' and if we do not also remember that, 'whosoever shall exalt himself, shall be humbled; and he that shall humble himself, shall be exalted.'"

[1] *Ep.* 69 *inter epp. Leon.* with the address: "*Domino vere sancto, merito in Christo beatissimo et apostolico honore venerando papae Leoni Ravennius, Rusticus,*" &c.

[2] *Ep.* 14, to Anastasius. Cp. *ep.* 6 to the same, and *ep.* 5 and 13 to the Metropolitans of Eastern Illyricum.

This letter, permeated as it is by the spirit of Christian humility, affords us considerable information concerning the powers of the Supreme Pontiff.

Most of Leo's statements regarding the Primacy have the advantage of being carefully worded, clear, and brief. They contain nothing which had not already been said before, and in substance they repeat the declarations of earlier Popes, and of other distinguished members of the Church. The scene of the bestowal of the Law on Peter (Ill. 86), so frequent in the early Christian art of Rome, may be said to comprise them all. The utterances of all such writers were but varied

Ill. 86.—Bestowal of the Law on Peter.

From a graffito of the Catacombs. After Perret, *Les Catacombes*, 5 Pl. 3, and a model of the same in SS. Cosma e Damiane at Anagni.

attestations to one and the same Faith of the Church. Sentences, however—such as the following, from the letter of Leo to the Archbishop of Thessalonica—owing to their masterly wording, remained rivetted in the memory of posterity, and to them this Pope owes it that he is revered as the peculiar teacher of the Primacy of Peter: "All bishops have the same dignity (of episcopal consecration); but they are not equal in rank (*i.e.* in jurisdiction). Among the Apostles also, though they were otherwise equal, one towered above the rest. Upon this is based the difference of rank among the bishops; among whom it has been most wisely ordained, that no one should assume every right he pleases."[1]

[1] *Ep.* 14, c. 11 (*P.L.*, LIV, 676: "*quibus* (*sacerdotibus*) *cum dignitas sit communis, non est tamen ordo generalis, quoniam et inter beatissimos apostolos*," &c.

"In each province of the Church one bishop (the Metropolitan) has a leading voice among his episcopal brethren. In some great cities again there are others appointed with still more extensive powers (the Patriarchs). Through these intermediaries the care of the whole Church is concentrated in the one chair of Peter, no member being separated from the head." The pre-eminence of the Metropolitans and Patriarchs, he says in the same epistle, is grounded "upon the statutes established by the holy Fathers." The Primacy is the outcome of a "Divine institution." Thanks to this highest authority, he is at pains to impress upon the Metropolitan of Thessalonica, he was indeed appointed to "have a share in our cares, but not to exercise the plenitude of our power." The Pope thereby alludes to the special faculties vested in the archbishop as Apostolic Vicar in Eastern Illyricum.[1]

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234. From Eastern Illyricum we will proceed to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

This region of the Church at the time of Leo the Great, or at least after 449, was in a violent state of turmoil, so much so that the waves surging from Byzantium involved the other Patriarchates, and were felt even in the distant West.

This is not the place to describe the origin and growth of the Monophysite heresy of **Eutyches**. In the same see of Constantinople, whence Nestorius had been expelled on account of his heresy, Monophysites now impugned the Catholic doctrine concerning Christ; their attack was, however, from an opposite quarter. The archimandrite Eutyches, unlike Nestorius, did not say: "The Divine and the human must be separated in Christ, the Divine Personality being different from the human"; in his opinion —which was no whit more consistent with Christian dogma— Divine and human are so united and blended in Christ that only one nature exists, a mixed nature, in which the human is absorbed in the Divine.[2]

When Flavian, the archbishop of the imperial capital, ex-

[1] Ibid., 2: "*secundum sanctorum patrum canones.*"—c. 1: "*ex divina institutione.*"—c. 1: "*Vices nostras ita tuae credidimus charitati, ut in partem sis vocatus sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis.*"

[2] Cp. the excellent summary of this heresy in Leo's Sermon 96, preached by him in the church of St. Anastasia against recent statements to the contrary circulated by merchants from Alexandria: "*quae impietas et falsum hominem (Christum) et Deum dicit esse passibilem. Quod quo audeant animo quove consilio,*" &c.

communicated the originator of this heresy for his obstinacy, the latter carried his complaints to Pope Leo. He also requested the mediation of the celebrated Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna, who, however, advised Eutyches to hearken to the voice of the Pope, who would assuredly vouchsafe a decision which would set all doubt to rest; for, said he, "St. Peter, who teaches and presides from his chair, supplies Truth to those who seek it."[1]

After due inquiry, Leo, in effect, did lay down the truth in his grand "Doctrinal Epistle to Flavian."[2]

In broad lines and with the stately, fluent language peculiar to him, the Pope therein exposes the dogma of the Incarnation of God and of the Person of Christ as defined by Scripture and tradition. The new and already widespread theory of the mixed nature, and at the same time also later distortions of the true Christology, were thus disabled at one blow. Even the later heresy of the Monothelites, assigning to Christ one only operation and one only will, was also disposed of beforehand.

But passion, Greek jealousy, and political intrigues were again to excite a yet more violent quarrel. Every one has heard of the Synod which met at Ephesus in 449—that riotous concourse of Bishops which Leo himself drastically described as the "Robber-Synod"—of which the object was the definition of heresy. The Apostolic See had sent legates to Ephesus, that, under their presidency, an Œcumenical Council might be held. The Council turned out to be something very different. Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, an advocate of Eutyches and his doctrine, alleging his appointment by Theodosius II., presumed to take the lead. By dint of brute force he carried through decrees of deposition against the chief supporters of orthodoxy, first of all against the venerable Flavian of Constantinople, then against Domnus, Patriarch of Antioch; against Eusebius of Dorylæum, Theodoret of Cyrus, and others, and even against Pope Leo of Rome.

Of the Papal legates, Hilary the deacon alone succeeded in saving his life—and that with difficulty—and making his way to Rome to report to the Pope what had occurred. He also brought

[1] *Ep.* 25 *inter epp. Leon.* (*P.L.*, LIV., 743). Cp. *Analecta romana*, Diss. VII. *Il primato romano nel secolo quinto*, &c., n. 4: *Il papato riconosciuto dalla chiesa universale* (I., p. 322).

[2] *Epistola dogmatica ad Flavianum*, *Ep.* 28 (*P.L.*, LIV. 755; MANSI, 5, 1365; *Leon. Opp.*, ed. BALLERINI, 1, 801; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 423), June 13, 449.

with him Flavian's appeal to the Apostolic See, whilst similar appeals were despatched by the other deposed bishops.

By a lucky discovery the texts of these letters of appeal, sent by special messengers, were found as recently as 1882.[1]

In a letter of the much-suffering Patriarch **Flavian** to the Pope we find the following: "I beg your Holiness to come to the East to help, in its distress, the Truth which the Fathers planted in the sweat of their brow.[2] For behold, all is in disorder; the Church's law exists no longer; true doctrine has vanished, and even the pious are divided among themselves. When I appealed in the Council to the Apostolic Throne of Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and unto the whole Synod assembled under your Holiness, they surrounded me with soldiers and even prevented me from taking sanctuary at the Holy Altar. . . . Arise then, defend the Faith of God, and restore the Church's law! Send letters both to the people for their enlightenment, and to the Emperor to explain to him the situation. . . . A Council summoned from both West and East should bring help in the ways God will suggest to you."

235. In the same year, 449, Leo the Great took one of the steps demanded by Flavian, and sent a strongly worded epistle to Constantinople. In February, 450, an opportunity at last presented itself to secure the co-operation of the Western rulers and through them to inform Theodosius II. of the real state of things and obtain the convocation of an Œcumenical Council in which the West should be well represented.

The facts of the case have been partially elucidated only quite recently. In February, 450, the Western Emperor, **Valentinian III.**, arrived in Rome with his wife Eudoxia, Theodosius's daughter, and his mother, Galla Placidia. Their visit gave them an occasion for paying their respects to the Apostle at his tomb on the feast of St. Peter's Chair, kept on February 22. In those days this feast was the festival-day of the Roman Primacy, and many bishops, even from the most distant districts of Italy, were in Rome for the occasion. The day after their arrival, the sovereigns

[1] For Amelli's discovery in the capitular codex (n. 30) of Novara, see my *Analecta romana*, 1, 322 ff., where are also the principal passages of the appeals according to Amelli, Mommsen, and an edition of my own (*Zeitschr. für kath. Theologie*, 7, 1883, 191 ff.).

[2] The codex has "*sudore ultionis tradiderunt.*" My suggestion is to read: "*sudore vultus sui tradiderunt.*"

entered the Basilica of St. Peter with a grand train of courtiers and soldiers, and attended the celebrations both on the Vigil and the feast itself, also offering rich gifts, according to custom, at the Apostle's tomb. On the same day, Pope Leo preached one of his rousing and instructive homilies in honour of St. Peter.

In the recently discovered fragments he speaks to his Romans of the spectacle offered by the presence of the Court, a now infrequent scene in the whilom city of the Emperors. "See," cries the orator, "the government of the first and greatest city of the world has been bestowed by Christ on a poor man of no account, like Peter. The sceptres of kings have bowed down before the wood of the Cross; the purple of the Court has submitted to the Blood of Christ and of the martyrs. The Emperor, decked with his glittering diadem and accompanied by a host of warriors, comes and seeks the Fisherman's intercession. In his merits the Monarch recognises a higher grace than in the jewels which sparkle on his robes. What a mystery of wisdom, what a marvellous work of God's right hand! The rich would fain profit by the merit of the poor—the noble and exalted prostrate themselves before the burial-place of a man of the lowest estate."[1]

Before the Imperial family left St. Peter's they were approached by Leo on the subject of the Church's distress in the East. His keen realisation of the calamity and the importance of the moment made his voice to choke with sobs. He adjured the sovereigns to use their influence with the Eastern Emperor Theodosius II., from whom so much was to be feared, and to persuade him to leave the head of the Church to deal with the "Robber-Council" as he saw fit. Theodosius was to be won over to the cause of holding a great Council in Italy for the restoration of peace.

The Imperial family, moved by Leo's prayers, readily promised their mediation in favour of the Apostle Peter. We still possess the separate letters which Valentinian, Eudoxia, and Placidia thereupon addressed to the Emperor of the East. Amongst other things, Placidia says in her letter to the Emperor: "We owe a debt of reverence to this City of Rome, which is the queen

[1] The nameless homily was partly published by MORIN, who took it from an old MS. in the British Museum (Addit. 30853, f. 30). *Anecdota Maredsolana*, I (1893), 409. That Leo was its author, and that it refers to the incidents described, can scarcely admit of a doubt, if we take into account TILLEMONT, *Hist. eccles.*, 15, 600, and BALLERINI in *P.L.*, LIV., 858 (Leo's *Ep.*, 55 ff.).

of all countries. We must leave judgment to the Apostolic See, to which the Apostle, who received the Keys of Heaven, has bequeathed the direction of the Episcopate."[1]

236. The Council did not meet until October, 451, after Theodosius's death, under his successors Marcian and Pulcheria, nor did it take place in Italy, but in the East at **Chalcedon,** whither it had been somewhat hurriedly convoked by the Imperial couple with the subsequent assent of Leo. The Pope sent as his legates to preside over the Synod, Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum in Sicily; Lucentius, another Bishop, and the presbyters Boniface and Basil. He himself was unable to undertake the journey to the East, he declared to the Court, for, in consequence of the approach of the Barbarians, the City of Rome could not be deprived of his presence.[2]

The Council, attended by some six hundred bishops, was one of the most brilliant events in the early history of the Church. It lost no time in carrying out the plan which the new sovereigns of the East, in their solicitude for the Church, had already marked out, namely, to pass decrees conformably with what had been laid down by the Pope, for the sake of the Church's peace and the good of religion, and to legislate under his authority.[3]

The real culmination of the Council was its second session, when it solemnly accepted Leo's famous dogmatic epistle to Flavian. "Peter has spoken through the mouth of Leo"—such was the exclamation of the bishops which resounded through the Basilica of the martyr Euphemia, before whose tomb they were assembled.

The Council also examined conscientiously and in detail the reasons for rejecting Monophysism. As the Fathers at the Council said: "Those who doubt must be enlightened," *i.e.* by being shown the proofs of the dogma. Leo's judgment, however, remained throughout their rule of Faith.[4]

[1] *Ep.* 56 *inter epp. Leon.*, cp. 55, 57, 58.

[2] The Pope took a part in the convocation of the Council: "*Generale concilium et ex praecepto christianorum principum et ex consensu apostolicae sedis placuit congregari.*" LEO, *ep.* 114. Cp. *Analecta rom.*, 1, 331. BLÖTZER, *Der Heilige Stuhl und die ökumenischen Synoden des Alterthums*, in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 10 (1886), 67–106. On the presidents, HEFELE, 2, 422. Leo stays at Rome: *ep.* 37, to the Emperor Theodosius. See also present work, vol. i., p. 94.

[3] Pulcheria to Pope Leo, *ep.* 78 *inter epp. Leon.*: (οἱ ἐπίσκοποι) σοῦ αὐθεντοῦντος ὁρίσωσιν. Marcian to Leo, *l.c.* 77: καθὼς ἡ σὴ ἁγιωσύνη κατὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς κανόνας διετύπωσε, κατατεθήσονται.

[4] Reasons were given: "*ut qui dubitant doceantur.*" The decision is to be a "*regula fidei*," τύπος πίστεως. Cp. my article already cited: *Leo I.*, col. 1756. *Gregor. M. Regist.*,

Everywhere the Church, with wonderful alacrity and fervour, made known its agreement with the Pope's epistle to Flavian, which was to be a guiding star amidst these and subsequent perils. In the West, diocesan synods expressed their gratitude and admiration. The Bishops of Gaul wrote that they accepted it as a "symbol of Faith."[1]

A beautiful legend testifies to the importance attached to that decision; it was told in Rome at the time of Gregory the Great, and then ran its course through the Middle Ages. According to it, Pope Leo had laid the epistle on the Tomb of St. Peter, and then for forty days had fasted and watched, beseeching the Apostle to revise, if necessary, the draft. At the end of that period he found that the work had been corrected by the Chief of the Apostles himself. To this another story, which we find in Moschus, was added in the seventh century. It states that long after his death Pope Leo repeatedly appeared at the episcopal residence in Alexandria to the Patriarch Eulogius, the contemporary of Gregory the Great, to thank him in the name of St. Peter for having duly carried out what was laid down in his epistle to Flavian.[2]

The great Œcumenical Council of 451 not only fixed the Church's faith in the so-called Chalcedonian Creed, but also issued a number of canons regarding discipline. Among these the eighth and twentieth disturbed the peaceful course of events, and brought protests from Rome. It re-enacted and enlarged the illegal decree of the second General Council, whereby the episcopal See of Constantinople was exalted at the expense of the earlier Eastern Patriarchates. With the other Acts confirmed by the legates, this decree, to which they had demurred, was despatched to the Pope, the Council and the Emperor being anxious to obtain Rome's consent to it. Their hope was, however, vain. Leo's protest, of which the language once more proved the authority of the Roman Bishop, even in face of an Œcumenical Council, was as follows: "Whatever has been settled

6, n. 2, p. 382; JAFFÉ-EWALD, n. 1381: "*Si quis autem contra harum quatuor synodorum fidem et contra sanctae memoriae* Leonis papae tomum atque definitionem *aliquid umquam loqui praesumit, anathema sit.*" Gregory here puts the Papal decree on the same footing as the first four Œcumenical Councils.

[1] ". . . *Ita ut symbolum fidei.*" Ravennius, Rusticus, &c., to Pope Leo, *cf.* *inter epp. Leon.*

[2] The first legend in MOSCHUS, *Pratum spirituale*, c. 147 (*P.G.*, LXXXVII., 3011), and in JACOBUS A VORAGINE, *Legenda aurea* (ed. GRÄSSE, 3, 1850, p. 308). The second legend in MOSCHUS, *l.c.*, c. 148.

contrary to the decrees of the Nicene Council, we declare void, and the same, by the power of Blessed Peter the Apostle, we hereby quash." [1] Leo also encouraged the Patriarchs of the East, who had been hit by the decree, to make full use of his support in fearlessly upholding their rights before the Court and occupant of the Constantinopolitan See. "The Church of Alexandria," he wrote, "must not forfeit aught of the dignity which it received through the disciple of Peter, St. Mark the Evangelist . . . likewise the third Church, that of Antioch, where St. Peter bestowed the Faith on those who were first to be called Christians, shall not lose her privilege. . . . The highest honour for each is the saving of his rights." [2]

On the other hand, the great work achieved by the Council against the Eutychians was again confirmed by Leo (March 21, 453) in a special encyclical, the heretical party having made his opposition to the decree mentioned a pretext for insinuating that he was against the Council. Some decades later, Pope Gelasius I. could rightly declare: "All depends upon the authority of the Apostolic See. Of the Synodal transactions, those ratified by the Apostolic See acquire binding force; whilst those which it rejected could not be carried into effect." [3]

237. During the subsequent years so great was the solicitude displayed by Leo in settling the tumults in the East, that no one would have suspected that historic events deeply concerning him were in progress in the West; inroads of the Huns under Attila in Northern Italy; Vandals under Genseric in the very heart of the City.[4]

In his foresight the Pope at that time made an arrangement which was to have far-reaching results in the future. He established Julian, Bishop of the Island of Cos, as his agent at the Greek capital. Most business with the Court and with the leading bishops of the East henceforth passed through his hands. From Julian the Holy See received constant and regular reports

[1] ". . . *per auctoritatem beati Petri apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus.*" *Ep.* 105, to the Empress.

[2] Regarding Alexandria and Antioch, *Ep.* 106; see *Analecta rom.*, I, 328. Cp. JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 495, 505. "*Magnus unicuique honor est integritas sua.*" *Ep. cit.*

[3] Leo's Encyclical, *ep.* 114. GELASIUS, *Tract. de anathematis vinculo*, n. 9 (THIEL, *Ep. rom. pont.*, 565. *P.L.*, LIX., 107): "*Totum est in sedis apostolicae positum potestate; ita quod firmavit in synodo sedes apostolica, hoc robur obtinuit, quod refutavit, habere non potuit firmitatem.*"

[4] On Attila and Genseric, see present work, vol. i., p. 93 ff.

upon the progress of the Eastern Church. The office of this Bishop later on grew into that of the Papal Apocrisiaries, as the legates at Constantinople were termed, who in turn were the forerunners of the Papal Nuncios.

The pent-up discontent of the secular party burst forth in the East in 457, when the Emperor Leo I. succeeded the more catholic-minded Marcian.

Leo I. was desirous of winning back the separatists by granting concessions. This, however, only increased the evil. At Alexandria, Proterius the Patriarch was murdered, and with the help of the monks was replaced by the Monophysite Timothy, surnamed Aelurus, *i.e.* "the cat." With all the courage which he owed to his apostolic office, the Pope in a letter to the weak Emperor urged him to remember his duty to the Church. "I speak," he writes to the Byzantine autocrat, "with the liberty which comes from faith. . . . Never forget that Imperial power has been granted thee, not merely to rule the world, but mainly to protect the Church. To endeavour to set up again what Peter has overthrown—which is the aim of the heterodox—is to perform the work of Antichrist. On no account may the decrees of Chalcedon and Nicæa be called in question in any negotiations with the Monophysites. Blood-stained heretics must not be allowed to dictate in matters of religion to the confusion of believers. Still less should they be permitted to appropriate episcopal sees, as they had done at Alexandria."[1]

The sternness of such passages as the above is, however, tempered by words of kindness and forbearance.

The Popes and their chancery rarely forgot, when writing to the sovereigns, to express their deep respect for the position, and their devotion to the persons, of the rulers. Such language was required by the laws of diplomatic intercourse and by the curial style, no less than by the dictates of Christianity and prudence.

In cases where the Popes were forced to protest against the despotism or wrong committed by the Emperor, we may there-

[1] *Ep.* 156 (Dec. 1, 457): "*Utor catholicae fidei libertate. . . . Debes incunctanter advertere, regiam potestatem tibi non ad solum mundi regimen, sed maxime ad ecclesiae praesidium esse collatam, ut ausos nefarios comprimendo et quae*," &c. Cp. *Ep.* 165, ad Pulcheriam Augustam: "*Res humanae aliter tutae esse non possunt, nisi quae ad divinae confessionem pertinent, et regia et sacerdotalis defendat auctoritas.*"

fore expect to find stress laid on such good qualities as the ruler possessed. Pope Leo's admonitory letter to his Imperial namesake is an instance in point, particularly the clever introduction.

The style of Leo's chancery was largely imitated by Papal secretaries in later times, particularly so long as Græco-Roman culture prevailed, though occasionally they spoiled it by paying too great attention to Byzantine taste. An effort was also made to follow the tradition of the fine dignified rhythm of Leo's language, particularly the metrical movement at the end of the sentences, called after his name *Cursus Leoninus*.[1]

Pope Leo, by dint of firmness and consideration, succeeded in winning over the Emperor. Timothy Aelurus was removed from the see he had usurped, and the position of the champions of Chalcedon was strengthened. Pope Leo, with great delight, sent from his See of Peter, now once again recognised, his congratulations to Timothy Salophaciolus, the new Patriarch of Alexandria. This last letter on the Eastern question is also the last known document by Leo's own hand. After having been so successful, he could safely leave to his successors in Rome the task of completing his work against the Monophysites.

This letter to a brother bishop closes with a sentence which sounds like Pope Leo's own motto: "Imitate the Good Shepherd, who seeks for the lost sheep and brings it back on his shoulder. . . . In thy zeal for the service of God, aim at winning back to Him, by the prayers of the Church, all those who have in any way strayed from it. That mysterious building which is the Faith admits of no divisions; like a true shepherd of souls gather them all in under this roof."[2]

This letter of greeting, which was despatched with other

[1] On the "*Cursus Leoninus*," see NOËL VALOIS, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 1881, p. 161 ff. On the revival of this *Cursus* under Urban II., see DUCHESNE, ibid., 1889, p. 161 ff. The *Liber pont.*, 2, 311, says of Gelasius II. that before becoming Pope he had been appointed *cancellarius* to the Holy See, "*ut . . . antiqui leporis et elegantiae stilum in sede apostolica iam pene omnem deperditum . . . reformaret et leoninum cursum lucida velocitate reduceret.*" Cp. *Revue des quest. hist.*, 1892, 1, 253 ff. (L. COUTURE: *Le cursus ou rhythme prosaïque dans la liturgie et la littérature de l'église latine*). *Histor. Jahrb.*, 14 (1893), 208.

[2] *Ep.* 171. In the evening of his life, Leo XIII. also had words of affection and conciliation for the East, striving to lead back our separated brethren to their Father's house, *i.e.* the Church. Thereby Leo was treading in the footsteps of his many high-minded and far-seeing predecessors. Throughout the history of the Papacy a wonderful continuity has ruled the successors of St. Peter, and Leo I. seems in many respects a prototype of Leo XIII.

epistles to the clergy of Alexandria and the bishops who had consecrated Timothy, was written on August 18, 460. At the end of the next year, Leo's body was already resting in the portico of St. Peter's.

238. The grand work which Leo achieved in the Church can be properly estimated only by taking into account all he did for the good of the State and of society. By his intercourse with the rulers he was enabled to effect much that was profitable to the general welfare. At times when Rome and Italy stood in the most imminent danger he used his influence with a fearlessness begotten of his Faith, and with a success which can only be explained by Providence. His bold and imposing encounter with Genseric saved the lives of the Romans and delivered the city from destruction by the Vandals, even though it was unavailing to prevent a partial sack. His meeting with Attila on the Mincio won him the credit of having delivered Italy from the Hunnish hordes threatening to overrun the distracted country. It is unnecessary to recall here the details of those events. What we have already recorded in the history of the city is sufficient to show the place Leo occupies in the history of the world. The twofold deliverance gave an everlasting reputation to the Papacy, not only in Italy, but in all Christian lands. By such events of history did Providence, at a period when the overthrow of all traditional authority seemed at hand, safeguard and strengthen for future times the dignity and authority of Peter's successor.

To the fact that Attila's forward march was checked, first, by the Roman and Germanic armies on the Catalaunian plains, and then by the Roman Embassy headed by a defenceless priest, we owe that the seeds of Roman culture were preserved alive, free to grow up in the Middle Ages; had the barbarian Huns succeeded in overrunning Italy and Europe all civilisation would have been crushed and stifled. The danger thus dispelled was one which had threatened, not Rome alone, but also the more promising of the Germanic races, those which had shown themselves open to culture and had allied themselves to the Christian Empire. They were now again at liberty to seek their education at the sole source of civilisation, and to bring their comrade-nations within the sphere of influence of the great centre of refinement, until the Germanic and Romance world had been sufficiently prepared

to take on its own shoulders in the Middle Ages the burden of life, political and ecclesiastical.[1]

As was to be expected, so great an event as the encounter of Pope Leo with Attila was seized upon by popular fancy. It was told how, while the Saint, confiding in God, was speaking to the King, the Apostles Peter and Paul had appeared aloft in the air, giving a heavenly sanction to the Pope's warnings and entreaties. Raffaele's brush has given us a forcible rendering of this vision in the Stanze of the Vatican. It is also represented in the striking marble bas-relief with which, under Innocent X., Algardi, a sculptor once highly esteemed, adorned the altar-tomb of Leo the Great in St. Peter's. But these creations of art, in the absence of any contemporary records, cannot relieve the historian from the duty of inquiring when the story first was told. So far the earliest witness known is Paulus Diaconus about the year 800.[2]

Unfortunately, too, a critical historian can no longer point, as ancient guides did, to the old bronze statue of St. Peter in the Vatican Basilica as a memorial of the liberation of Italy from Attila. This statue Pope Leo was said to have made in thanksgiving to the Apostle for his timely aid, by remodelling the bronze statue of Capitoline Jove. Neither the date, nor the maker, nor the source of the material as accounted for in this story, can, however, be said to be probable.

Leo's tomb in the portico of St. Peter's was a memorial of his life and work of a character more genuinely historical than the legend surrounding the statue of St. Peter.[3]

239. Leo was the first Pope to be buried on the threshold of the apostolic shrine, a spot which became a favourite one with his successors. As Pope Sergius I. observes in an epitaph of thanksgiving, it was fitting that Leo, one of the greatest of the successors of Peter, should, even in death, mount guard over the stronghold of the Prince of the Apostles. Sergius wrote this epitaph when, in 688, he translated the body of the Pope, who

[1] RANKE, *Weltgesch.*, 4, 298, 304. GREGOROVIUS says: "Leo was at that period the truest representative of culture, which the Church alone had the power to save" (1^4, 191). "Rome was preserved to the world as the sacred depository of the tradition of centuries, as the centre of civilisation and of political as well as religious thought" (p. 193).

[2] The history of the vision was made popular during the late Middle Ages by the *Legenda aurea* of JACOBUS A VORAGINE (ed. GRÄSSE, 3, 1890, p. 368).

[3] On the statue, see below, No. 284.

stood in equal honour among the Romans and the foreign pilgrims, into the interior of St. Peter's, and there erected a memorial altar dedicated to Leo and adorned with his figure. The unpretentious inscription says: "From the tomb his call to the Church still rings out: 'Watch lest the wolf rend God's flock.' Like a true lion (Leo) he roared, and all the wild beasts trembled; but the sheep gathered close around their shepherd."[1]

It would seem that Pope Nicholas I., who had unbounded admiration for Leo, had studied this inscription, for he, too, when new dangers threatened the Eastern Church, uses the metaphor of the roaring lion in a letter to Michael, Emperor of Constantinople, reminding him that it was Leo alone who had reclaimed the Eastern patriarchs from heresy, and restored the forsaken Faith.[2]

Scarcely was Leo dead before saintly honours began to be rendered him, so great had been the impression made by his holiness. The Martyrology of St. Jerome, then already finished, was opened again in the fifth or sixth century for the insertion of his name. What particularly struck Leo's contemporaries was his combination of great mental talents and worldly power with gentle humility.

Such was the standing of this Pope, that throughout his long pontificate, *i.e.* for nearly a quarter of a century, he appears in the foreground of every event of importance. He knew how to keep the West, even in its changed conditions, well under control of religion, and to pilot the Eastern Church through a multitude of dangers. As one of the doctors of the Church, he himself personally confuted the great heresy of his day and established the true doctrine. What Augustine, what Cyril of Alexandria and Athanasius had done as theologians against the heresies of their times, Leo the Great did against Monophysism. Of this error he was the chief opponent, assailing it both with the weapons of learning and with the sword of his supremacy. Clear insight, prompt action, unwavering firmness in all that his office demanded

[1] His death took place on November 10, 461, on which day the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* commemorates him. The metrical epitaph is in my *Analecta rom.*, 1, 83; DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 56, 98, &c.; DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 379. . . "*Sed dudum ut pastor magnus Leo septa gregemque* | *Christi* [illegible] *erat* . . . | *Rugiit et pavida stupuerunt corda ferarum* | *Pastorisque* [illegible] *oves.*" That there was a figure, I gather from the first words of the epitaph: "*Huius apostolici primum est hic corpus humatum.*"

[2] MANSI, 15, 187 ff.; *P.L.*, CXIX., 926 ff.; JAFFÉ-EWALD, n. 9[illegible].

of him, these were the characteristics of this great Pope. Filled as he was with the lofty consciousness of his Primacy, his individuality was to him of small account. Confidence never for a moment deserted him, just because no action of his was an outcome of mere self-will.

One golden sentence in a sermon of his runs: "If I do any good, it is Christ the Lord who through me fulfils the work of ministry (the word he applies to his exercise of the Primacy); not in myself do I glory, for I am nothing, but in Him who is all my strength."[1]

Whatever the greatest Popes have been able to effect for the benefit of the Christian world has ever been the outcome of the same inward conviction. Humbleness of heart and trust in God, such are the means to produce undying results.

240. The extant sermons of Pope Leo are full of such thoughts. They are the utterances of a soul filled with the love of God; in them there breathes the spirit of Christ; his fatherly pastoral words awaken the Faith of his hearers, stimulating them to good works, to prayer, and almsgiving, and other deeds of mercy. Leo's discourses are clear and positive, and sometimes exceedingly brief. On special occasions—for instance, on festivals of our Blessed Saviour, when he is anxious to raise his hearers to the height of the solemn mystery of our redemption—his style becomes lofty, majestic, and brilliant. His language sometimes reminds us of the characteristic elegance of earlier Latinity, which had become a rare thing in his time.[2] Valuable allusions are also to be found in these sermons to the manners and morals prevailing in Rome, for the great preacher, like a true pastor, condescends to all the moral needs of his flock. He declaims against the many nominal Christians who fancy enough has been done now that the world has renounced idolatry, and that the "Trinity is worshipped by princes and in palaces with as much zeal as by the people in the churches." "No," he tells them, "your works must make manifest that ye are Christians."[3] Hearing that strangers from Egypt, principally merchants from Alexandria, are trying to disseminate Monophysite views in Rome, he takes

[1] *Sermo* 5: *De natali ipsius* (v.), n. 4.

[2] When Sozomen says (*Hist. eccl.*, VII., c. 19) that the Popes never preached to the people (οὔτε ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθάδε ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει), he only shows once again the ignorance of Roman affairs which he had betrayed elsewhere. See BALLERINI in their edition of Leo; *P.L.*, LV., 197.

[3] *Sermo* 36: *In epiphaniae solemnitate* (vi.), n. 3.

advantage of a sermon which he had to preach in the church of St. Anastasia, in the Greek quarter close to the Emporium on the Tiber, to warn his audience most earnestly against any intercourse with their dangerous guests.[1]

After the retreat of Genseric and his Vandals, he is told that many superstitiously ascribe to astral influence Rome's happy preservation from fire and sword. This delusion he promptly assails, and shows them that all thanks are due to the Lord God and the mediation of Peter.[2]

He notices that many of the Faithful, before entering the portico of St. Peter's, turn at the top of the steps towards the Piazza and, bowing, greet the sun, which in the early morning floods the front of the Basilica with its rays. Accordingly he points out in his discourse that it is a Manichæan ceremony thus to worship the rising sun. With great patience he demonstrates to the unlearned who still stand in need of such teaching, that the sun's radiance is but a reflection of God's glory, and that they should revere and worship Him in church, and not imitate heathen folly by such a senseless practice.[3]

We have already spoken of his solicitude for the spiritual welfare of Rome after the catastrophe under Genseric, and of his lamentation that, on the festival in memory of the deliverance of Rome, so few worshippers had attended compared with the crowds visiting the public games.[4] On another occasion, when speaking of that calamity for Rome, he said: "Would that at any rate the sufferings which the Lord allowed to overtake us might serve to improve the morals of those who were spared! Would that at least an end were made of vice, that its chastisement may also be unnecessary! We will praise God's great mercy for two things—for removing the scourge and for reclaiming our hearts for Himself."[5]

Thus Leo the Great, whilst proving himself a true primate by the world-wide activity he displayed as head of the Church, is shown by such small details as those just mentioned, to have

[1] *Sermo* 96 *sive tractatus contra haeresim Eutychetis.*

[2] *Sermo* 84: *In octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, n. 2.

[3] *Sermo* 27: *In nativitate Domini* (vii.), n. 4: ". . . *ut priusquam ad beati Petri apostoli basilicam . . . perveniant, superatis gradibus quibus ad suggestum aream superioris ascenditur, converso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant et curvatis cervicibus, in honorem se splendidi orbis inclinent*," &c.

[4] See present work, vol. i., p. 99.

[5] *Ep.* 113 to Bishop Julian of Cos (ed. BALLERINI, p. 1190; *P.L.*, LIV., 1024): "*si et flagella removeat et ad se suorum corda convertat.*"

been equally conscious of his status as bishop and shepherd of souls in the community more immediately entrusted to him. To complete our sketch of Pope Leo's character we add the opinions of two writers of note.

Paschase Quesnel, the author of several profound essays on our hero, in spite of his difference in theological outlook, says of Leo: "He remarkably furthered the cause of Christianity with an unselfishness equalled only by his fervent devotion. . . . His virtues glow like stars in the firmament of the Papacy. . . . This Bishop of Rome unflinchingly faced the storms which human passion brought upon the Church; his battles and his victories were all for the sake of the Faith."[1]

The other opinion—which will be a surprise for many of our readers, but of which the value can easily be ascertained—is that of Ferdinand Gregorovius: "Leo I. established the Primacy of the Apostolic See of Rome, and his ambitious efforts were readily seconded by Augusta Placidia, a bigoted woman, and by a weak-minded Emperor, her son Valentinian."[2]

The Popes at the Close of the Western Empire

241. The successors of Leo I. were to follow the course marked out by their great predecessor in his relations with both West and East.

The first to succeed to his office was **Hilary**, who, in the name of Leo, had defended the rights of the Holy See before the Robber-Council (461–468). The *Liber pontificalis* says of him briefly but pointedly: "He strengthened the power and supremacy of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic See."[3] In the West, agreeably with Leo's plans, he maintained the pre-eminence of the Archbishop of Arles as Papal Vicar for the dioceses of Gaul. He even increased the importance of this vicariate now that political chaos made the union of the Episcopate a yet more pressing need. More than ever "the Church (in Gaul) required a centre and stood in need of a definite constitution."[4]

[1] *Dissert.* I *de vita et rebus gestis S. Leonis M.*, ann. 440, n. 3; ann. 461, n. 1, in *P.L.*, LV., 194, 318.

[2] GREGOROVIUS, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, I[3], 180. In the fourth edition the epithet "ambitious" was at last suppressed, p. 185

[3] "*Confirmans dominationem et principatum sanctae sedis catholicae et apostolicae.*" *Liber pont.*, I, 242, n. 68.

[4] LÖNING, *Gesch. des deutschen Kirchenrechtes*, I, 477. Cp. my *Analecta romana*, I, 338.

Leo the Great had everywhere protected and defended the prerogatives of the Metropolitan; Hilary did the same in Spain, where he severely reprimanded the Bishops of the Province of Tarragona for having infringed the rights of their Archbishop Ascanius. The political situation in Spain, as in Gaul, was growing daily more desperate. Hence Hilary's successor was to take the same step as had been taken in Gaul, establishing a new Apostolic Vicariate for Spain. The deputed authority of the Holy See was committed to Bishop Zeno of Hispalis (Seville) to enable him "to watch over the observance of the apostolic ordinances, and to see that the bishops' jurisdiction was strictly confined to their dioceses."[1] Like his great model, Leo, Hilary was much concerned in keeping the Faith undefiled in the Christian capital of the Empire. When Philotheus, a favourite of the Emperor Anthemius, then staying in Rome, and an adherent of the Macedonians, sought, in 467, to establish clubs in the city for the furtherance of their views, Hilary took advantage of a visit of the Emperor to St. Peter's to make a public complaint to him about the business. Anthemius was induced to swear by the Apostle's Tomb that he would prevent the mischief which was hatching.[2]

According to the *Liber pontificalis*, Hilary had also been compelled to send letters to the East "to ratify the Œcumenical Councils of Nicæa, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and the *Tomus* of the saintly Bishop Leo" to Flavian. Neither the few extant fragments of his correspondence, nor other sources, contain, however, any information concerning the circumstances attending these measures. In all probability what he did was to take steps to ensure the approval and execution of the doctrinal decrees of Leo and of the latest Œcumenical Synods.[3]

[1] On his relations with the province of Tarragona: JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 560 ff. Regarding the Primacy the following words are noteworthy; they are taken from a letter of the bishops of that province to Hilary: "*Cuius (Petri) vicarii principatus sicut eminet, ita metuendus est ab omnibus et amandus. Proinde nos Deum in vobis primitus adorantes, cui sine querela servitis, ad fidem recurrimus in apostolico ore laudatam (Rom.* 1, 8), *inde responsa quaerentes*, unde nihil errore, *nihil praesumptione, sed pontificali totum deliberatione praecipitur*" (THIEL, *Epist. rom. pont.*, p. 155). This letter was sanctioned by acclamation at a Roman Council, November 19, 465, attended by bishops from Africa, Gaul, and Italy. Ibid., p. 163. Hilary's successor, Simplicius, to Zeno: JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 590.

[2] Our knowledge of the matter is derived from a letter of Pope Gelasius to the bishops of Dardania. THIEL, *Epist. rom. pont.*, p. 408; *Collectio Avellana*, ed. GUENTHER (*Corpus SS. eccles. lat.*), 1895, 1, p. 391; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 664.

[3] *Liber pont.*, 1, 242, n. 68.

242. Much more is known of the relations subsisting between the Papacy and the Eastern Church under Hilary's two successors, Simplicius and Felix III. The long pontificate of Simplicius lasted till 483, and witnessed the sinking of the Western Empire into the grave which had been so long awaiting it. Simplicius saw the rise of the soldier-kingdom of the Arian Odovacar; his successor, Felix III. (more correctly Felix II., 483-492), that of the Ostrogoth Theodoric.

The relations between these Popes and the East were by no means satisfactory, and show how necessary had been the strong-handed actions of Leo the Great. His measures were not, indeed, immediately crowned with success, and the infatuation of politicians together with the ambition and weakness of usurping bishops filled the Eastern Patriarchates with Monophysism and even led to an occasional breach with the orthodox Church. Nevertheless Leo's epistle to Flavian was at last recognised as the true Rule of Faith, and the patient labour of Peter's successors received its deserved reward.

Under Basiliscus, a usurper with Monophysite leanings, Timothy Aelurus again seized the Patriarchal See of Alexandria; he even had a fervent Monophysite successor in the person of Peter Mongus (the Hoarse), and for a while it seemed that the see of St. Mark was to pass permanently into the hands of the heretics. Equally grave was the position of the Church at Antioch. There, under Basiliscus, the heretic Peter the Fuller settled down triumphantly as Patriarch. He had already once before attained the dignity, but had been forced to relinquish it.

Through fear of Basiliscus no less than 500 bishops belonging to the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem consented to subscribe the usurper's decree by which the epistle of Pope Leo to Flavian was condemned to be burnt with the Acts of Chalcedon. An heretical synod at Ephesus, modelled on the previous Robber-Council, even extolled the Imperial decree as "the Divine and Apostolic Encyclion."

"Woe to the foolish conduct of these renegades," exclaimed, not long after and on a similar occasion, Pope Gelasius, one of the successors of Simplicius, "they have forsaken the teaching of the apostles and now disport doctrines set up by laymen; they reject the decisions of the

Councils and stake all their hopes upon the dogmatic writings of worldlings."[1]

Pope **Simplicius** withstood the Emperor Basiliscus with the courage which Right and Truth confer. He succeeded in rousing the monks and clergy of Constantinople, and, as Pope Gelasius later testifies, was enabled to break the sovereign's arbitrary theological power.[2]

Scarce had the ruffianly Basiliscus been overthrown and the Emperor Zeno installed on the throne than conditions changed to the advantage of Rome, and Pope Simplicius himself had the joy of formally demanding the restoration of orderly church rule.[3]

In the aged Timothy Salophaciolus (the White), a Catholic once again took possession of the Patriarchal See of Alexandria, of which he had already been recognised as the occupant by Leo the Great. So ready was Timothy to recognise his subordination to the head of the Church that he sent an embassy of excuse to Pope Simplicius, on being censured by him for having put the name of the heretic Dioscorus on his diptychs. He explained to the Pope that he had no sympathy with heresy, but that his mistake was due to his fear of the many friends of the leader of the Robber-Council.[4]

The advent of the Emperor Zeno to power led at Antioch to a similar revolution, in consequence of which Peter the Fuller found himself bereft of his usurped dignity.

In the meantime, however, the Patriarch **Acacius** of Constantinople had successfully ingratiated himself with Zeno. Though previously a good Catholic, and therefore in favour in Rome, he was the cause of fresh difficulties through his ambition, weakness, and attempts at compromise. He was the father of the Acacian schism, which lasted five-and-thirty years (484-518), having been the promoter of the disastrous **Henoticon** of 482 to which the schism was due.

[1] Pope Gelasius alluding to the acceptance of the Imperial Henoticon by the Greeks. *Ep. ad episcopos Syriae* (THIEL, p. 478; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 702).

[2] *Ep. ad episcopos Dardaniae* (THIEL, p. 404; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 664): "*Basiliscus tyrannus et haereticus scriptis apostolicae sedis vehementer intractus est.*"

[3] *Ep. ad Zenonem* (THIEL, p. 186; *Collectio Avellana*, ed. GUENTHER [*Corpus SS. eccles. lat.*], I, p. 138; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 576): ". . . *Chalcedonensis synodi constituta vel ea quae beatae memoriae praedecessor meus Leo apostolica eruditione perdidit, intemerata vigere iubeatis, quia nec ullo modo retractari potest, quod* illorum definitione *sopitum*," &c.

[4] SIMPLICIUS, *Ep. ad Acacium* (THIEL, p. 195; GUENTHER, p. 138; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 578); *Ep. ad Zenonem* (THIEL, p. 196; GUENTHER, p. 139; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 579).

The object of this theological edict of Zeno was a delusive union between the Catholics and Monophysites. Instead of conveying the Catholic doctrine it suppressed it. Hence, whilst the orthodox party were unable to accept the Henoticon, heretics like Peter the Fuller and Peter Mongus hailed it with joy. They knew very well that by obediently accepting the edict they were preparing for a return to their patriarchal sees. As Acacius, little by little, revealed his leanings to Monophysism, urgent representations were made to him by Pope Simplicius, though all in vain. The Patriarch at the Imperial residence maintained a dignified silence so far as Rome was concerned, but only the more eagerly pursued his fell work in the Eastern Church. The See of Alexandria he delivered to Peter Mongus, and assented to the expulsion by the secular power of John Talaia, the orthodox successor of Timothy Salophaciolus.

243. The orthodox Patriarch, John Talaia, like his glorious predecessor Athanasius, betook himself personally to Rome to secure his rights. He also hoped to receive from the Holy See counsel and help for the wavering Eastern Church. By the time the Patriarch arrived in Rome, in 483, **Felix III.** had succeeded Simplicius on the episcopal throne.

The person was indeed changed, but the spirit of the heirs of Peter animated the new Pope also. Felix III., under pressure of adverse circumstances, even displayed greater firmness and independence against the Greek schism, and on behalf of the fugitive John Talaia, than perhaps Simplicius would have done.

With the arrival of the persecuted Patriarch came complaints to Rome from every quarter against the Monophysite reaction fostered by Acacius at Constantinople. All who felt with the Church were displeased by the efforts at mediation made by the Emperor under the influence of his Patriarch.

Felix despatched to the Greek capital two bishops, Vitalis of Truentum in Picenum, and Misenus of Cumae in Campania, and entrusted them with the task of safeguarding the Faith of Chalcedon and the dogmatic teaching of Leo, and of helping the deposed bishops. Their first and foremost duty was to be to summon Acacius to Rome, to answer before the Pope's tribunal the written charge presented by John Talaia. The Apostolic See was, however, betrayed by its own representatives, a mortifying and painful experience which has more than once subsequently

fallen to Rome's lot, and sometimes at crucial moments; such misfortunes have taught the Papacy not to rely too much upon the capacity or good intentions of men, but rather upon the arms of Him who, all invisible, keeps watch over His Church. The two episcopal envoys allowed themselves to be gained over by fear and bribery to the side of the Emperor and Acacius, entered into communion with the heretics, ratified the election of Peter Mongus, and reviled John Talaia. Felix III., at a Roman Synod in July 484, attended by sixty-seven bishops, accordingly quashed their sentence, suspended the faithless legates, and excommunicated them both.[1]

He also pronounced sentence of excommunication and deposal against Acacius, and directed Tutus, the Papal *defensor*, to convey the sentence to the Greek metropolis. As Acacius refused to be served with it, some monks had the boldness to pin it to his pallium when he was on his way to the liturgy. For this act of insolence they were made to suffer death or imprisonment, which they faced with courage. Tutus, however, brought fresh disgrace upon the Roman Church by letting himself be inveigled by bribes into joining the enemy, for which he was punished by Felix III. with deposal and excommunication.[2]

A dangerous atmosphere, of which the influence was difficult to escape, seems to have prevailed at that time at the Byzantine Court.

It was thus, amidst fraudulence and violence, that the schism took its rise, which, after its proud and unprincipled originator, is known as the Acacian schism. Acacius struck out the Pope's name from the diptychs. Old and New Rome remained separated, for, after the death of Acacius, his successors in office continued to retain on their diptychs the name of the heretic Peter Mongus, or at least that of Acacius, though both had died in the Church's displeasure and as schismatics.

The Bishops of Constantinople were of no mind to fulfil the conditions quietly insisted on by Felix III. and his successors, Gelasius, Anastasius II., and Symmachus, as the only means of securing a reconciliation which should be true and lasting, and not a mere semblance of peace. It is quite possible that the

[1] Roman Council of 484, in THIEL, p. 247; MANSI, 7, 1065; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 599: "*Beatissimus Papa Vitalem et Misenum ab effectu et communione suspendit.*" &c.

[2] FELIX III., *Ep. ad Rufinum et Thalasium* (THIEL, p. 257; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 608).

conduct of these Patriarchs was due more to Court influence and fear of their followers than to heretical contumacy. But the Pope could not, on this account, refrain from demanding obedience and safeguards for the keeping of the peace.

Building and Church Decoration under Leo the Great and his Successors

244. While the urgent claims of unity and the task of constantly watching over East and West engrossed the Roman Bishops, they were nevertheless not unmindful of the state of worship in their own diocese, and of the duty of erecting structures worthy of it. During the period of her outward transformation from a pagan to a Christian city, Rome had already made room, among the ranks of her marble buildings and palaces, for a great number of basilicas and oratories. But, partly in consequence of the growth of the Roman Church, both in numbers and in fervour, partly on account of the influx of strangers into the city of the chief apostles and martyrs, there was an ever-increasing demand for new facilities for public worship. Moreover, many edifices already commenced required completion, decoration, and occasionally even restoration, especially when the original buildings, having been run up too hastily, stood in need of repairs.

Records exist of certain works of Leo the Great, which give him a place of honour even in the history of art and architecture. Most of these works pertain to the two great basilicas, St. Peter's and St. Paul's. It was quite in accordance with the character of Leo's pontificate, as it has been handed down to us, that he should have concentrated his interest upon these two monuments of Rome's spiritual grandeur.

In **St. Peter's,** Pope Leo was responsible for a general restoration. The magnificent mosaic which, down to the time of Gregory IX., decorated the front of the church above the five entrances was his work. Its expense, as stated by the inscription, was borne by the ex-Prefect and *Consul ordinarius*, Marinianus, and his wife Anastasia. What it represented was discovered only quite recently through an eleventh-century MS., now in England, from the monastery of Farfa. There we find an illustration of the front in its original form, as well as details of the mosaic. The four-and-twenty elders of the Apocalypse, divided into six

groups, are offering their gifts to Christ on high. As witnesses and heralds of our Saviour's Divinity, the four Evangelists appear above the elders, each identified by his customary symbol.[1]

Probably the tribune or apse of St. Peter's had been devoid of any mosaics until the time of Leo I., and it was he who replaced the earlier and simpler decoration by a work of more permanent character. Leo also founded a monastery in connection with the basilica. Among other advantages the proximity of the monks was useful for the performance of liturgical functions, and also for safeguarding the locality which lay beyond the city walls. Besides this, Leo established the so-called *cubicularii*, a sort of guard of honour for the Tomb of Peter. The title, which was borrowed from the Court, we may perhaps associate with the name given by Constantine the Great in his inscription to the outer shrine or *arca* at St. Peter's: "Royal mansion, *domus regalis*." *Cubicularii*, or chamberlains, are certainly appropriate in the palace of a king. The Princes of the Apostle were treated in their honoured burial-places by the Pope and people of Rome as though they had been actual reigning princes. The Council of Arles, in a missive sent to Pope Silvester in June 314, says: "There the Apostles sit enthroned day after day; there, their blood unceasingly bears witness to the glory of God."[2]

Leo the Great also established *cubicularii* at St. Paul's on the Ostian Way. Here as well as there, their existence is proved by epitaphs.[3]

Two great inscriptions in the Sanctuary of St. Paul's still tell the visitor of the works which Leo executed there. One may be seen in letters of mosaic on the lower border of the triumphal arch. In it "Placidia's pious soul" congratulates Pope Leo on his zeal in successfully finishing the decoration of the "paternal work." The "paternal work" refers to the

[1] See GRISAR, *Die alte Peterskirche von Rom und ihre frühesten Ansichten*, in the *Rom. Quartalschr.*, 9 (1895), 257 ff., with two plates; in Italian in *Analecta rom.*, 1, 464 ff. Evidence is there given that the Farfa Codex at Eton College (n. 124) in the miniature of Gregory the Great's funeral, gives on the whole an accurate view of the front of old St. Peter's.

[2] For the mosaic of the apse and the *cubicularii*, see *Liber pont.*, 1, 239; *Leo I.*, n. 66. For the *cubicularii* of the Roman Basilicas, see DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, III., 531. "*Domus regalis*" in the Constantine inscription (present work, vol. [illegible], No. [illegible], and *Analecta rom.*, 1, 294). Synod at Arles: "*in quibus (partibus) apostoli quotidie sedent, et cruor ipsorum sine intermissione Dei gloriam testatur.*" MANSI, *Coll. concil.*, 2, 469.

[3] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 241, note 14; sixth century inscriptions.

re-erection of the basilica by Placidia's father Theodosius, and Valentinian.[1]

The subject of the mosaic, which is still in existence, resembles that of the similar mosaic placed by Pope Leo on the front of St. Peter's. The treatment is grand and impressive. In the centre appears a bust of Christ, in the act of blessing, with a radiant circular nimbus. Above Him, right and left, soar the symbols of the four evangelists proclaiming His Godhead. Below, the twenty-four elders, divided into two groups of twelve on each side, are seen bringing, with heads bent in prayer, their crowns to the Lord. On each side an angel accompanies them and joins in their act of worship. The two isolated figures standing to the right and left below are Paul and Peter. Here, at his tomb, Paul takes the place of honour to the right of the arch, or the left of the spectator. Both, according to the custom of the time, originally held scrolls in their hands symbolising their teaching and confession. The inscriptional verses, which probably were placed as early as Leo the Great, over the two Apostles, have been slightly altered in the course of time, through restorations. The words above Paul were: "Paul persecuting the elect of God, himself became a chosen vessel to show light unto the Gentiles and nations." Those above Peter extolled the "Gatekeeper" of the kingdom as the "Rock appointed of God," and as the "ornament of the court of Heaven."[2]

Such is the great triumphal arch of Galla Placidia and Leo the Great at St. Paul's, a precious memorial of early Christian art (Ill. 87). Unhappily it is also in some sense a memorial of the changes which fifteen hundred years can effect upon such

[1] PLACIDIAE PIA MENS OPERIS DECVS (H)OMNE PATERNI | GAVDET PONTIFICIS STVDIO SPLENDERE LEONIS (see Ill. 87). The present inscription is corrupt. "*Homne*" instead of "*omne*" is, of course, a later perversion. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Musaici: Arco di Placidia*, and *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, pp. 68, 81, 98. De Rossi thinks Leo I. was only the restorer of the mosaic on the arch of Placidia; my opinion is that he was its author. On Leo I. and the similar mosaic on the front of old St. Peter's, see *Analecta rom.*, 1, 463 ff. On a genuine fragment of the mosaic on the arch of Placidia, which shows the beauty of the original, see MÜNTZ, *Revue de l'art chrét.*, 1898, p. 16.

[2] "*Persequitur dum vasa Dei fit* (PAVLVS ET IPSE) Vas (fi) DEI ELECTVM GENTIBVS (*et populis*)": de Rossi thus reconstructs (*Musaici*, l.c.) the original inscription from the fragments recorded by Ciampini and Margarini as still legible in their day. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. clxvi. and 148. The lines above St. Peter are given by de Rossi according to the *Sylloge Turonensis* as: "*Ianitor hic coeli est fi* DEI PETRA CVLMEN HONORIS | *Sedis apostolicae rect* OR ET OMNE DECVS." Ciampini was acquainted only with the remains shown above in capitals, which he completed as follows: "(*Voce Dei fis Petre*) *Dei petra culmen honoris* | (*Aulae coelestis splend*)*or et omne decus*." It was according to this inaccurate rendering that the inscription was restored. DE ROSSI, *l.c.*, p. 68, n. 33, 33[a].

monuments. In several points, particularly in the gloomy countenance of our Saviour, it no longer preserves the original type of the picture, as planned by the Pope and executed by the Roman artists.[1]

The two hexameters which at present appear in mosaic letters above the same arch at St. Paul's, and describe the origin of the basilica, occupied a different place in the original church of the Theodosian family, and probably stood below the mosaic of the

Ill. 87.—Mosaic of Galla Placidia on the Triumphal Arch at St. Paul's. After Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, tav. vii., slightly emended

apse. What the latter represented is no longer known, for the present mosaic dates only from the thirteenth century. The two hexameters just mentioned tell in classic language of the completion of the church by the imperial brother of Galla Placidia: "Theodosius began and Honorius finished this *Aula*, hallowed by the body of Paul, the Teacher of the World."[2]

[1] The incomprehensible wands, for instance, in the hands of the worshipping angels belong to an earlier and unskilful restoration. So too does the inappropriate staff on the shoulder of Christ. This staff, according to the rules of archæology, ought to support the cross or the monogram, and thus be the sign of our Saviour's triumph in His basilica. Paul holds the sword and Peter the keys solely through an anachronism of the restoration.

[2] THEODOSIVS CEPIT PERFECIT ONORIVS AVLAM | DOCTORIS MVNDI SACRATAM CORPORE PAVLI (see Ill. 87).

Another longer inscription by Leo, which can still be seen at the Monastery of St. Paul, is a reminder of another great work which the Pope had carried out in St. Paul's. The inscription alludes to the restoration of the roof of the church. According to the *Liber pontificalis*, the earlier roof had been shattered by lightning. In these verses the builders first give praise to God that He had prevented greater mischief when the roof collapsed, and next extol the Pope who was responsible for its reconstruction. In the second part of the inscription, of which the style is quite different, Pope Leo himself addresses the architects and returns them the compliment: "To thee, Felix the presbyter, and to thee, Adeodatus the levite, is acknowledgment due," &c.[1]

The Felix named here is probably the father of the later Pope Felix III. As Gregory the Great was a member of the latter's family, the inscription brings an ancestor of Gregory into connection with Leo, whose pontificate matched in splendour that of Gregory.[2]

Finally a third inscription, containing the name of Leo, formerly existed on the *Cantharus* in the atrium of St. Paul's. In fine, flowing hexameters it stated that "Leo, the vigilant Shepherd" had brought back to the fountain the water which had found a way elsewhere, and invited all who entered the shrine to follow the pious custom of washing their hands in the gushing stream.[3]

It was only in 1858 that a church built by Leo the Great was excavated near Rome. In the *Liber pontificalis* we are told that, during the reign of this Pope, Demetrias, a consecrated virgin, had a church erected to St. Stephen at her country seat beside the third milestone on the *Via Latina*. No one knew anything about the church, which seemed to have vanished completely. In the year mentioned, however, it again came to light from beneath the mounds of earth which rise picturesquely near the much visited classical heathen monuments on the Latin Way. The main lines of the structure and the design were easily recog-

[1] The inscription begins: EXVLTATE PII LACRIMIS IN GAVDIA VERSIS. Cp. GRISAR, *Analecta rom.*, 1, 148, for text and commentary; ibid., Pl. 1, n. 6, for photograph.

[2] Epitaph on the presbyter Felix († 471) from S. Paolo in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 1, 366, n. 831. De Rossi also gives (ibid., p. 371 ff.) the epitaph of Petronia, wife of Felix III., who died when he was still a deacon; also of his children Paula and Gordianus, and of a holy virgin Æmiliana, who was related to him. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 253, note 2. On married bishops, see vol. iii., No. 503.

[3] The text begins: "*Perdiderat latium longaeva incuria cursus.*" DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 80.

nised; many portions of the decoration—such as pillars, capitals, and remains of marble banisters—were also found. From the narthex the building is seen to be divided by pillars into three rather spacious aisles, of which the central one, or nave, still retains the apse at its end. From the confused remains of classical masonry we can tell that the basilica was actually built into a country house already existing there, and dating from pagan times. In front of the spot where stood the High-Altar yawns a sort of *Confessio*, which possibly may also be older than the church itself. Many fragments of sarcophagi in precious marble prove that the atrium and immediate neighbourhood even of this country church served as a cemetery for the distinguished dead. A confirmation of this remarkable discovery was the finding of the fragments of the old metrical dedicatory inscription. It contained the name of the noble lady, Demetrias Amnia, of the Anician *gens*, and also that of Pope Leo. Demetrias has a place in the history of Rome, for her rank and virtues were repeatedly extolled by the Fathers of the period.[1]

245. Under Pope **Hilary**, the successor of Leo, important restorations were effected in the church of Anastasia, or "Anastasios." With the help of the pious gifts of Severus and Cassia, this court-church on the Palatine was decorated with mosaics or a veneer of marble.[2]

In the neighbourhood of **San Lorenzo fuori le mura** new buildings were also erected. Hilary founded the monastery which has remained there through all these centuries; he also established two public baths near San Lorenzo. According to ancient custom there were usually baths near large churches, especially near those frequented by pilgrims. Hilary further built a residence near by, the *Praetorium*, either for the pilgrims, or as a sort of Papal villa, and furnished it with two libraries. Though two libraries are mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*, this may perhaps be only an allusion to the prevalent ancient habit of separating the Latin and Greek books.[3]

[1] Cp. L. FORTUNATI, *Relazione generale degli scavi e scoperte fatte lungo la Via Latina* (Roma, 1859), with plan. Thence comes the inscription in DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 531, with additions by P. GARRUCCI. It begins: "CVM MVNDVM LIBENS DEMetriAS AMNIA *virgo*."

[2] Cp. inscription in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 24, n. 25.

[3] *Liber pont.*, 1, 244, *Hilarus*, n. 71. Cp. DUCHESNE, *l.c.*, n. 10. See my reply in *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 27 (1903), p. 131 ff., to the opinion put forth in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 16 (1899), p. 525; that in the passage in question of the *Liber pontificalis*, "bibliothecae" means, not libraries, but MSS. of the New and Old Testaments.

The *Liber pontificalis* also speaks of another building erected near San Lorenzo by **Simplicius**, Hilary's successor; this was a church dedicated to St. Stephen. It seems to have been a small memorial chapel with three apses, and to have included, among others, the tomb of a bishop, Leo, saint and martyr, whose epitaph was found in fragments on the presumed site of the church, near the south-east angle of the basilica. From this inscription it was gathered that a country house had existed here previously, owned by Leo—a lover and patron of church music—when still a pagan, and within which both the *Prætorium* and little church had been constructed.[1]

San Lorenzo, ranking as a memorial-basilica immediately after those of Peter and Paul, must at that time have been much visited by devout believers. It is told of **Felix**, the successor of Simplicius, that he, too, built a church in honour of St. Agapitus, near the Basilica of St. Lawrence. A peculiarity of these memorial churches was that they contained so many, often highly artistic, sarcophagi. Burial-places near the tomb of a celebrated saint were always much in request.

A number of other churches, which can be traced back to the above-mentioned Popes, have a quite different character. The "Basilica of the Apostle St. Andrew, near the Basilica of St. Mary," ascribed by the *Liber pontificalis* to Simplicius, was, as we shall see, simply an ancient hall, altered into a church by a Goth. On the other hand, the "Basilica of St. Stephen, on the Caelian Hill," also ascribed to Simplicius, is an ancient rotunda transformed into a church, which we shall describe later on under the name of S. Stefano Rotondo. Both these buildings are architecturally very different from the basilicas. Again, a church which Simplicius erected "to St. Bibiana, near the Licinian Palace," had quite the form of a small basilica, and indeed still retains it, with its three aisles divided by two rows of columns. The country churches, erected in great number by **Gelasius**, the successor of Felix III., must also have been small basilicas. In order, it would seem, to make public worship easier for the inhabitants of the suburbs, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, he

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 249, *Simplicius*, n. 72. DUCHESNE, n. 3. In the epitaph Leo says concerning church music: PSALLERE ET IN POPVLIS VOLVI M(*odulante*) PROFET(*a*) | SIC MERVI PLEBEM CHRISTI RETIN(*e*)RE SACERDOS. "*Prætorium*" here signifies a grand mansion. MARUCCHI, *Il papa Damaso* (1905), reasonably conjectures that this Leo was the father of Damasus (see present work, vol. i., p. 204 ff.).

dedicated a church to St. Euphemia at Tibur or in the vicinity, besides churches to St. Nicander, St. Eleutherus, and St. Andrew on the *Via Labicana*, as well as a church to St. Mary on the *Via Laurentina* in the *Fundus Crispinis*. There were then a great number of villages and large settlements in the Roman Campagna. The places of worship we have named, as well as several others which we know of, were centres where Christian doctrine was imparted, and baptism and the other sacraments conferred. Leo the Great's church of St. Stephen, on the *Via Latina*, already alluded to, still shows among its ruins, at the end of a side aisle, the ancient font, entered by steps. Hence there must formerly have been here a country population, of which all trace is lost in the early Middle Ages.[1]

246. Reverting to the city, we are told many details about the improvements which Pope **Hilary** effected in different churches, and can thus form some idea of the magnificence with which the churches of Rome were then adorned. His two **Oratories** near the Lateran Baptistery, restored and altered by Xystus III. (see above, Ill. 83) were the principal objects of his concern. Hilary's foundation has a certain connection with his earlier experience at the Ephesian Robber-Council. When, as Papal legate there, he had to flee from the violence of Dioscorus and his faction, he hid himself in the memorial chapel of St. John the Evangelist, who died at Ephesus. This we have learnt only from a recently discovered source concerning the ill-fated Council. Hilary ascribed to the Evangelist's help his having been able to return safely to Rome by a circuitous route. In gratitude he therefore dedicated to St. John the finer of his two oratories. With its vestibule, this has almost the shape of a mausoleum, and may possibly be an imitation of the memorial chapel of St. John at Ephesus. Above the door leading to the oratory from the baptistery he placed the inscription, which yet remains, "To his deliverer, Blessed John the Evangelist, Bishop Hilary, the Servant of Christ."[2]

[1] *Liber pont.*, l.c., *Simplicius*: "*basilicam intra urbe Roma, iuxta palatium Licinianum beatae martyris Bibianae, ubi corpus eius requievit.*" Ibid., i. 285. *Gelasius*, n. 74: "*dedicavit basilicam sanctae Euphimiae martyris in urbibus Tiburtina et alias basilicas sanctorum Nicandri, Eleutheri et Andreae in via Labicana, in villa Pertusa*," &c.

[2] MARTIN, *Le brigandage d'Éphèse*, in *Revue des questions historiques*, and also separately (Paris, 1874), with the Syrian Acts in detail. See inscription in *Analecta* [illegible], 1, 136, n. 6, with photograph, Pl. 1, n. 5.

The other oratory stands opposite the above. It was, and still is, dedicated to St. John the Baptist.[1]

Both chapels shone with mosaics and marble veneer. In the handsomer one of the Evangelist we may still admire the beautiful mosaic vaulting depicting in the centre the Lamb of God, amidst garlands of flowers, surrounded by alternating baskets of fruit, birds, and the classical stakes with their twining vines. The execution as a whole is astonishingly light and graceful, considering its date.[2]

Both chapels owed to Hilary their strong and handsome bronze doors, so well in keeping with their style. That of the Evangelist's chapel was repaired or replaced in the time of Cencius Camerarius, later known as Honorius III. On the other hand, the door of the chapel of the Baptist, with its inlaid silver crosses and silver inscription, is an example of early Christian art, of great value on account of its scarcity.[3]

One hundred pounds of silver was employed upon the altar of either "Confession"; both altars were surmounted by golden crosses, which cannot, however, have remained there many centuries, any more than the other furniture in precious metal, to be mentioned directly, which Hilary provided for the great baptismal font of this church and for his new **Oratory of the Cross.**[4]

He so designed this splendid oratory in honour of the Holy Cross that, to a certain extent, it formed one with the baptistery. The two were united by a portico, and also by a spiritual bond. After baptism the neophytes received confirmation, of which the cross was the symbol. From the time of Hilary they were wont to pass directly from the baptistery, through the portico, into the new oratory, where this sacrament was conferred.[5]

[1] The inscription † HILARVS EPISCOPVS † SANCTAE PLEBI DEI † is above the head-piece of the door; see *Analecta rom.*, I, 149, n. 5, and Pl. I, n. 4. The two other inscriptions over each door (see GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, 4, 47) are modern additions.

[2] See the mosaic in ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Latran*, Pl. 39, a better reproduction than that given by GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 238. The crosses added by the latter upon the stakes do not exist, as I have seen for myself. The mosaic of the chapel of St. John the Baptist is only preserved in a defective sketch in CIAMPINI, *Vetera monim.*, I, c. 26, Pl. 75 (copied by GARRUCCI, Pl. 239).

[3] Copy of both doors in ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Latran*, Pl. 37, 39. Inscription on that of the Oratory of the Baptist in *Analecta rom.*, I, 149.

[4] *Liber pont.*, I, 243; *Hilarus*, n. 69 ff.

[5] See my explanations in the *Civiltà catt.*, 1895, III., 727 ff.: *Il distrutto oratorio lateranense della Croce e l' "adoratio crucis" a Roma ed a Gerusalemme.*

Considerable remains of this portico and of Pope Hilary's oratory were standing till the first half of the seventeenth century.[1] From descriptions of it, and from the clear statements of the *Liber pontificalis*, we know the form of this splendid structure. The colonnade was a threefold one (*triporticus*), the lofty columns supporting a magnificent frieze. In the centre of the court, which formed a kind of atrium to the chapel of the Cross, stood a great fountain with a porphyry basin, flanked by two other fountains. Upon the frieze was an inscription which stated that Hilary had cleared away the ruins of ancient buildings (*ruderum moles*), the top of the columns showing the height of the previous accumulation. The columns themselves and the materials for the beautiful fountains were doubtless purloined from ancient buildings.[2]

The ground-plan of the oratory of the Cross resembled that of the famous mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna. It formed a cross of which the arms were equal, each, except the entrance, enclosing a chapel; since between each arm there was another smaller chapel, the total number of chapels was seven. The oratory of the cross was also faced inside with marble and had its roof decorated with rich mosaics. The remains of the Holy Cross were placed here by Hilary, after having been hitherto preserved in the neighbouring church of "*Hierusalem*," *i.e.* of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.[3]

The rich gifts in precious metal with which Hilary, so we are told, furnished his oratory of the Cross must have been among the last output of Roman art.

They are objects which we can in a measure realise by comparison with the few extant, contemporary, artistic treasures of Rome. Thus, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, Hilary adorned the upper part of the *Confessio* of the oratory with a Lamb of God in gold, standing under an arch also formed of pure gold

[1] PANVINIUS, *De septem ecclesiis* (1570), p. 164, on the remains existing in his day. For the other accounts and on the rebuilding of the portico and oratory, cp. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Latran*, p. 318, 416, and Pl. 33 ff.

[2] The inscription, "*Hic locus olim*," &c., in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 147, and DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 246. Cp. *Analecta rom.*, 1, 88 ff., for comparison with the text of the inscription on Trajan's Column, which also gives the height of the earth removed.

[3] *Liber pont.*, l.c.: "*confessionem ubi lignum posuit dominicum.*" According to the eighth-century description of the papal Good Friday ritual (DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 34), the great relic of the Cross was carried in procession from the Lateran to Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme.

and supported upon onyx pillars; he also hung in front of the *Confessio* a golden cross twenty pounds in weight and covered with jewels. The doors of the same *Confessio* were made with fifty pounds of silver, and five pounds of gold had been required for the candelabrum, decorated with figures of dolphins. Round the chandelier stood four golden lamps of two pounds each.[1]

Let us turn now to the font in the baptistery, the favourite site in Rome for the administration of baptism. About the pool Hilary placed three stags, each belching forth water into the font. The streams of water were used during the service of baptism, while the stags recalled the hart in the Psalms, which, typical of the soul seeking grace, "panteth after the fountains of water" (Ps. xli. 1). Each figure had involved the use of thirty pounds weight of silver. Sixty pounds were required to construct the "tower" decorated with dolphins, which appears to have stood in the middle of the font. This supported, if our explanation of a difficult passage be accurate, the splendid golden lamp with ten burners, which served, in the dark of the Easter vigil, to illuminate the baptismal ceremony. A golden dove, symbol of the Holy Ghost, hovered above the water of the New Birth.

We pass over the lists in the *Liber pontificalis*, which deal with the vestries and treasuries enriched by Hilary, whether at the Constantinian or Lateran Basilica, at St. Peter's, St. Paul's, or St. Lawrence's, and which enumerate a fabulous number of vessels in gold and silver. We have here a page from the history of Roman art, which not only invites us to picture to ourselves all these treasures, but also shows the well-nigh inexhaustible wealth which found its way, at that time, into the coffers of the Roman Church, and which was due to the munificence of the great senatorial families, and occasionally of the Court.

Goths and Vandals had vied with each other in robbing Rome of her silver and golden treasures, but now, when the losses of the plundered churches were to be made good, gold, silver, and precious stones again came streaming in together in abundance. We shall not be wrong in surmising that the estates of the Church, the so-called Patrimonies of St. Peter, contributed

[1] The cross appears upon contemporary mosaics; for instance, on that of the vestibule of the Lateran Baptistery (GARRUCCI, Pl. 238), which is perhaps a remembrance of the *consignatorium* existing before Hilary; also upon the carved doors of Sta. Sabina (*Analecta rom.*, 1, 441, Ill.). The arch is found on sarcophagi; the Lamb on the ceiling of the Oratory of St. John the Baptist in the Lateran Baptistery.

largely to this work of decoration. During all the misfortunes of the city, the patrimonies remained in possession of the Popes, and, so far as possible, their revenues were a constant and regular source of revenue to the Church. An old church-historian estimated the amount spent, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, by Hilary on his foundations during his short reign of seven years, at 102,983 scudi, equal to £20,000. Considering the value of money at that time, this represents an enormously large sum.[1]

Moreover, that the revival of art in the decoration of religious buildings went hand in hand with a genuine revival of religious feeling, seems evident from the statements in the *Liber pontificalis* regarding the Stations. Hilary paid special attention to this ancient religious practice in Rome. The Lateran Basilica and the church of our Lady on the Esquiline, appear to have been liturgical centres for the Station processions. The choice vessels which were carried in these processions for use at the mass were deposited there. Not one of the five-and-twenty titular churches of the city was forgotten by the Pope when he provided new vessels. He gave twenty-five silver *scyphi*, large chalices, each weighing ten pounds, twenty-five vessels called *amae* or *hamae*, also in silver, weighing ten pounds, intended, it would seem, to receive the gifts of wine which the faithful offered during mass in their *amulae*. There were besides, for each *Titulus*, two smaller silver chalices (*calices ministeriales*), each two pounds in weight, for administering Communion to the faithful. Finally, there was a large *scyphus aureus stationarius* of eight pounds in gold, shared in common by all the *Tituli*.[2]

[1] CIACONIUS, *Vitae pontificum* (1677), I, 316.

[2] For the significance of the above inventory of liturgical vessels, see DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, p. cxxiv.

CHAPTER VII

ROMAN ART AND CULTURE IN THEIR CHRISTIAN DEVELOPMENT

247. When the Empire reached its end, art in Rome was by no means dead. In the triple field of architecture, painting, and sculpture, it still continued to produce works of value. The erection of numerous basilicas in the city and the profusion with which decorations and furniture of all sorts were lavished upon them, was responsible for a new season of prosperity in traditional Roman art, for which the Church alone must be thanked. As the new ideas imported by Christianity embodied themselves, sometimes in the traditional forms, sometimes in forms entirely new, this renascence of art is of great interest to us.

From the beginning of the transformation of Rome under Constantine, the fine arts had forsaken more and more the haunts of secular life, and sought a sanctuary in the Christian churches. Less and less is heard of worldly art. On the other hand, not only did Christian architecture progress by building stately basilicas, baptisteries, mausoleums enclosing sarcophagi, and oratories of widely different designs, but also there was gathered together within the churches, especially in the great basilicas, titular and station churches, everything that art could produce in marble or metal, in painting or mosaic.

Church art strove to Christianise the classic forms. With a broad and genuine sense for the outward expression of the beautiful, it appropriated the inheritance of early classic times. In consequence, however, of the general decay of social and public life, the art of the period failed to reach the olden standards of taste or of power.

Even before Constantine, church art had taken an independent course, in consequence of the spirit infused into its work; after this Emperor's time it became still more original in its tendency, in the endeavour to make existing art subservient to its lofty aims and to the purposes of Christian worship. We do not, how-

ever, mean that the Church created a new art, or discovered a new style, or invented anything entirely novel in the field of art. It never occurred to any one to expect any such novelty of the new religion. To have introduced such innovations would have shown lack of judgment, for the result could only have been something unnatural, and would have rendered more difficult the Church's work of leavening the world of that day. Her artists, who were mostly converts, usually continued to work quietly on their old stock of models. Just as the Church, in the matter of social usage generally, adapted herself to all the customs current in society, so long as they involved no heathen superstition or immorality, so she allowed her art to grow up on the common soil of Roman art, taking care, however, that it remained true to her spirit in its purity and symbolism.

In classic and early Christian times, art was so closely bound up with public and private life that its history is really a history of civilisation. In more recent periods art and life stand much further apart. Trade and industry, which now dominate everything, scarcely allow us to realise how potent a factor in the intellectual trend of society the fine arts once were, and how in them we find the living expression of the sentiments which stirred the hearts of men. Classical antiquity, and refinement in taste and beauty, have justly, throughout all time, been considered synonymous, and, with due allowance, the same is true of the life and art of the early Church. In describing in greater detail the last revival of Roman art we shall be well within our scope if we also give some attention to the more noteworthy aspects of Christian life and culture in that period.

Roman Basilicas and Public Worship

248. It is a matter of common knowledge that Christian architects adopted two leading plans in designing churches, that of the Rotunda and that of the Basilica. The former was generally preferred in the East; the latter, almost exclusively, was employed in the West, and especially in Rome.

Both forms were also in vogue in classical antiquity, which had been responsible for marvellous works in either style. Among the extant specimens of round buildings in Rome, the

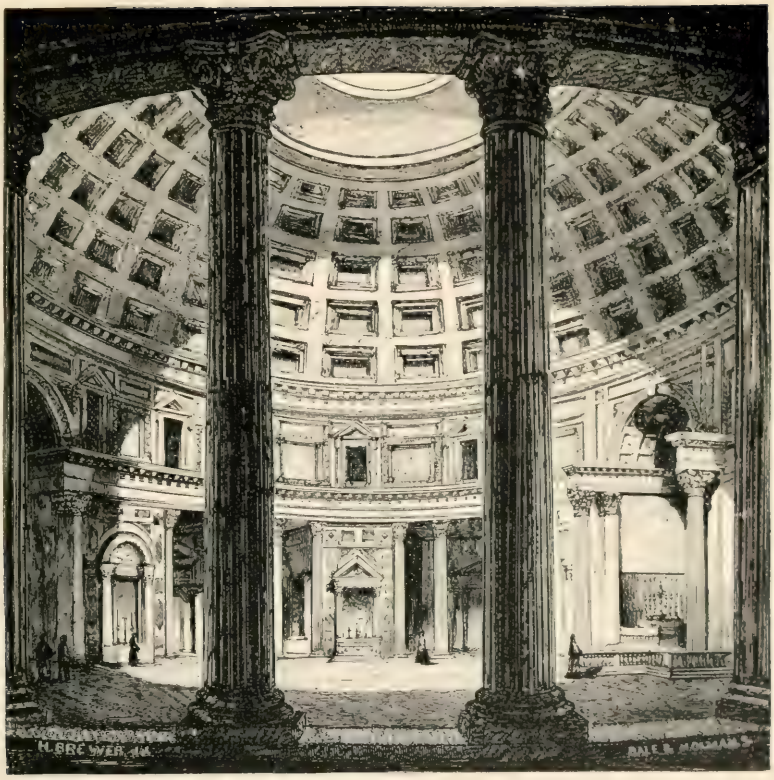
Pantheon of Agrippa is the most perfect creation (Ill. 88). The grandeur of the vast Rotunda, the perfectly harmonious impression given by the blending of all parts of the exterior and still more of the interior, the even distribution of light from the single aperture at the top throughout the whole vastness of the building—all these advantages of the Pantheon, that finest remaining structure of ancient times, show what a round building can become under the hand of a real master.

In Christian Rome, however, circular edifices were found less suitable for use in public worship than oblong basilicas, and this for several reasons.

It was found that the practical requirements of divine service were better served by the basilica, and it is undeniable that a hall-shaped building, with the altar and sanctuary at the end, was more adapted to liturgical purposes than a circular building, in which, in keeping with the idea of the whole, the altar, as the culminating point of the building, should have stood in the centre. In Latin countries, and especially in Rome, secular buildings had usually been in the basilica style, a fact which doubtless influenced the Christians. In this portion of the world, assembly-halls, market-places, and courts of justice had usually been given the basilican shape; central edifices, on the contrary, whether circular, polygonal, or in the form of an equal armed cross, were preferred in the case of mausoleums and of nymphæums with their fountains and baths. Christian architecture in Rome also preferred this same style for mortuary chapels and for baptisteries, where the bath of baptism typified the New Birth. The Baptistery of Constantine the Great and Xystus III., at the Lateran, was circular, and it became a model for other like structures. The relationship of both these kinds of buildings with the pagan nymphæums and mausoleums is sufficiently obvious.[1]

Yet, to explain why basilican buildings predominate among the Church's meeting-places, we must also bear in mind Western taste and tendency. Western nations were probably not impressed by the strict sense of unity and centralisation symbolised in the rotunda. In spite of their regularity of structure, the basilicas of Rome gave an impression of greater freedom and of less constraint by a dominant idea than the rotunda, in which

[1] On the two styles and their adaptation to church architecture, cp. Dehio and Bezold, *Die kirchl. Baukunst des Abendl., historisch und systematisch dargestellt* (Stuttgart, 1884, ff.), 1, 14 ff., 19 ff., 63 ff.



Ill. 88.—The Pantheon. (Interior.)

every part was knit into, and, as it were, oppressed by the whole. The basilica harmonised better with Roman character, whilst the rotunda was in keeping with that of the Easterns.[1]

The principal circumstance, however, which led Roman Christians to adopt the basilican form was the close connection existing between the new buildings and the similar edifices which had been adapted to Christian worship in the third century, or even earlier.

249. A few words upon the origin and construction of Christian basilicas will here be appropriate. The leading features of the basilica are the elongated rectangle of which the interior consists, divided by columns into several aisles; the raised upper walls of the central aisle or nave, allowing for the rows of windows of the clerestory; the pent roof; and, finally, the semicircle of the apse or tribune, in which the nave ends and which serves to contain the altar and the clergy.[2]

These essential parts of the Christian basilica must have existed in some, if not in many, of the Christian places of worship in Rome before the time of Constantine. When peace had been given to the Church, and new places of assembly were called for, it was only to be expected that the plan in use in pre-existing buildings would recommend itself as most practicable, and be adopted and improved.

During the time before Constantine, it is known that the palatial homes of wealthy Christians were used for the liturgy and for religious assemblies generally. Here people were wont to forgather in the larger rooms, *i.e.* in the atrium or even in the peristylium, if the mansion contained such an open space surrounded by arcades (see Ill. 89).[3] At the end of these open courts—*i.e.* in the central line of the building—stood the most important rooms of the house. Here, in the *tablinum* or the *œcus*, the bishop or priest officiating could celebrate most conveniently. Between the inner court and the entrance to the

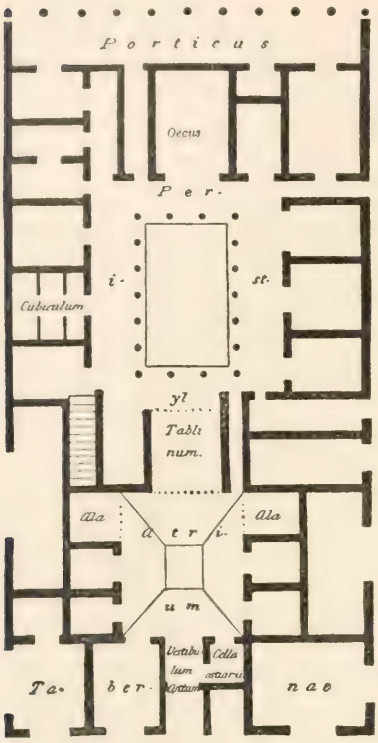
[1] Cp. H. SCHRÖRS, *Die kirchl. Baustile im Lichte der allgem. Culturentwicklung:* II. *Die altchristl. Basilika;* III. *Der altchristl. Centralbau* (*Zeitschr. für christl. Kunst*, 9 (1896), 35 ff., 82 ff.).

[2] St. Peter's in Rome had five aisles, the same being true of the Lateran and of San Paolo fuori le mura, of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and of the Basilica of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica. According to Delattre, the newly excavated cemetery-basilica at Damus el Karita, near Carthage, had even nine aisles. The number was invariably uneven.

[3] SCHNEIDER, *Das alte Rom*, Pl. V., No. 14. Cp. with this the plan of such Roman basilicas as still retain their atrium, *e.g.* Santa Prassede, in HOLTZINGER, *Altchr. Archit.*, p. 41.

house there was, in many mansions, a vestibule which served admirably to accommodate the catechumens and penitents.[1]

Let us now imagine the open court in the interior of the house, roofed over against the weather; further, the walls below the new roof pierced with windows, the arcades of the peristylium united with the main hall by means of sloping roofs; finally, let us fancy the family reception-room at the end of the court, which was frequently semicircular, brought into accord with the rest of the building and reserved for the clergy and the sanctuary, and we shall have before us all the component parts of a Christian basilica. After many discussions regarding the origin of Christian basilicas, it seems now beyond question that the description here given is the simplest and most probable.[2]



Ill. 89.—Plan of a Roman Mansion with its Atrium and Peristylium.

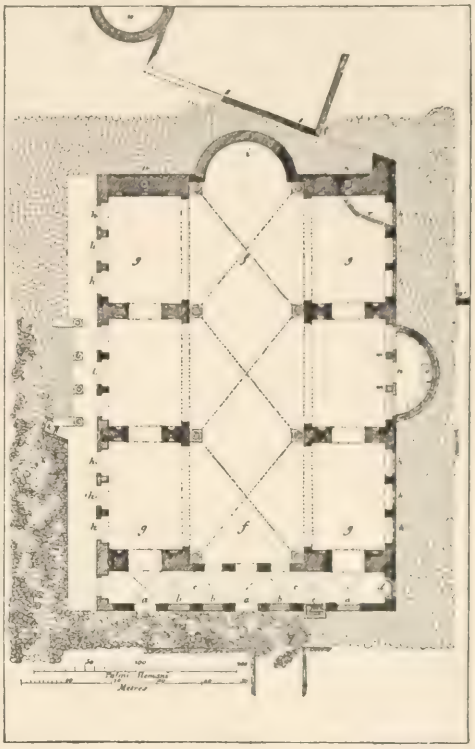
Before the Peace of Constantine, Christians had in Rome public and recognised places of worship; in fact the very name of "Basilica" is bestowed on them as early as 311 by Optatus of Mileve. He says that in Rome there existed more than forty "Basilicas." Many Christian places of worship may even then have lost their association with private houses.

[1] Cp. plans of houses at Pompeii in Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji in seinen Gebäuden* (1884), p. 251 ff. For Rome, cp. *Forma urbis Romae*, ed. Jordan, tab. 11, n. 51; 14, n. 86; 23, n. 173; 27, n. 20; 31, n. 316; 32, n. 338. Schultze, *Archäologie der altchristl. Kunst*, p. 42. Kirsch, *Christl. Cultusgebäude im Alterthum* (1893), p. 13 ff. See present work, vol. i., Ill. 2, the Roman abode of the Vestals with the Tablinum.

[2] Dehio especially has given his support to this theory in his *Kirchl. Baukunst des Abendl.*, 1, 63 ff., and in his article, *Die Genesis der Basilika*, in the *Sitzungsber. der bayr. Akad. der Wissensch., phil. hist. Kl.*, 1882, II. Cp. Schultze, in the *Christl. Kunstblatt*, 1882. The course of recent discussion is well given by Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 265 ff., to which reference may be made for the copious literature on the subject. See also Zestermann, Messmer, Weingärtner, Mothes, J. P. Richter, Holtzinger, Kraus, K. Lange, Crostarosa, Kirsch, &c. As to plans of basilicas, the most useful is that of old St. Peter's, after the drawing by Alfarano in de Rossi, *Inscript. christ. urbis Romae*, 2; Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, 1. Cp. Dehio and Bezold, Pl. 18, n. 1, 5; Holtzinger, *Die altchristl. Architek. in systematischer Darstellung* (1889), p. 20; Kraus, 1, 323;

Even the language used by Eusebius shows that Constantine's period created nothing absolutely fresh. "What had been handed down from earlier times was now developed on a larger scale."[1]

It was a mistake of former times to believe that the Christian basilica had been a mere copy of the ancient basilica, public or private. No actually known form of heathen basilica coincides with the Christian; on the contrary, the plans show marked differences.[2]



Ill. 90.—Constantine's Basilica on the Via Sacra. Ground-plan.

The public basilica, as a rule, had a passage running all round the lofty central space. This colonnade was quite different from the side aisles peculiar to Christian basilicas. Among the public basilicas of Rome, Constantine's alone, on the Sacred Way of the Roman Forum, the grandest known specimen of this kind of building, displays an arrangement similar to our side aisles (Ill. 90).[3] Yet, even here, the aisles, if one may so call them, did not really form one large hall; each had three separate vaultings on either side, and thus each formed three rooms off the

also the plan of the ancient Lateran Basilica on our illustration (present work, vol. iii. Ill. 219); that of the basilica of the Hospital of Pammachius at Porto (present work, vol. i., Ill. 10); and finally that of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, near Ravenna, in Dehio and Bezold, Pl. 16, n. 8; Holtzinger, p. 26; Kraus, 1, 302.

[1] These concluding words are from Kirsch, *Christl. Cultusgebäude in der vorkonstant. Zeit* (*Festschrift . . . des Campo Santo in Rom*), 1897, p. 6 ff. Optatus (*De schism. Donatist.*, 2, c. 4), says of the Donatists who had come to Rome: "*inter quadraginta et quod excurrit* basilicas *locum, ubi colligerent, non habebant.*"

[2] Cp. Mau, *Basilika*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. des klass. Altertums*, 3, 89 ff.

[3] The main entrance must originally have been at the end opposite the terminal apse, where traces are still found of a vaulted vestibule. The entrance at the side, opposite the other niche, seems to be an addition not contemplated by the builders, though contemporaneous. According to Petersen, the colossal statue of Constantine, of which the head is in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, stood in what corresponds to the main apse.

central hall. The central "nave" was covered with three cross-vaults with open lunettes. In all these points the building differed materially from a Christian basilica.[1]

The mansion, or private basilica, so far as we can judge, had certainly more in common with the Christian basilica. But the only two positive examples of which ruins remain—the Flavian Palace on the Palatine, and the Basilica in Hadrian's Villa near Tibur—seem to have had no elevated central hall, and thus differ from the Christian basilica on a point of importance.[2]

Hence it would be more accurate to say, regarding the derivation of the Christian basilica from the secular, that the earlier places of worship of the Roman Church, usually existing within private mansions, as soon as Constantine had given freedom to Christian worship, underwent improvement and became the models of an independent system of architecture. Certain appropriate elements were adopted from the secular basilicas, public and private. Much also was borrowed from the sepulchral shrines (*cellae*); for instance, the exclusive use of the semi-circular apse and the shape of the *confessio*, *i.e.* of the tomb of the saint beneath the altar. It is perhaps also from the latter source that the custom came of occasionally adding niches on either side after the fashion of a transept. The side apses of the *cellae* (*trichorae*) may here have served as models. (See Vol. I., Ill. 42.)[3]

To sum up, the Christian basilica of Constantine's time was probably the outcome of various causes. It was the result of a long tradition from the times of persecution; but also, in part, a creation of architects, who drew largely on the secular basilicas and heathen sepulchral shrines.

[1] The secular basilica at Theveste is a parallel instance to Constantine's basilica in Rome. In it the plan of nave and aisles is seen yet more clearly. MAU, p. 90.

[2] For the Flavian Palace, see present work, vol. iii., Ill. 181. During the late days of the Empire, house-basilicas existed, but were simply large roofed ambulatories; in fact, mere extensions of the tetrastylum. Cp. HIERONYMUS, *Ep.* 18: "*instar palatii privatorum exstructae basilicae, ut vile corpusculum hominis pretiosius inambulet.*" The "*basilica quondam Laterani,*" which, according to St. Jerome, *Ep.* 30, was altered into the Lateran Church, was probably, according to Mau (p. 94), a house-basilica of the sort, as well as the "*domus suae ingens basilica,*" which the pseudo-Clementine Recognitions (10, c. 71) describe Theophilus of Antioch as changing into a church.

[3] With this reservation, consideration is due to what Kraus says, to some extent repeating de Rossi, concerning the connection of Christian basilicas and Christian sepulchral shrines, or *cellae coemeteriales* (*Gesch. der christ. Kunst*, 1, 259 ff.). Illustrations of the two *cellae trichorae* above the Catacomb of Callistus in DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, III., Pl. 42–43. Picture of the double chapel of the *Coemeterium Ostrianum* (erroneously described as the Crypt of S. Agnese) in KRAUS, 1, 260.

Ill. 91.—The Basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna (534–549).

The builders of the basilicas in Constantine's time worked in Rome at the behest and with the encouragement, not only of the Church, but still more of a favourably disposed Court. The unity of the vast Empire, with its abundant means of intercourse and the wealth of the Court, made it possible with the aid of the local authorities to raise, as though by magic, Christian basilicas of almost identical shape even in the remotest regions. The basilica style became predominant, because it was the style of construction approved of in high places. It became quite universal during the following centuries. Not in Rome only was it preserved, but in Italy and throughout the West it remained, till nigh the end of the tenth century, the only design in use for churches. In Rome itself it held its ground against both the Romanesque and Gothic styles, and retained its venerable form till the time of the general alteration in taste, brought about by the Renaissance.

Till the nineteenth century, St. Paul's on the Ostian Way, a building of the fourth century, remained the best specimen of a Roman basilica. Since its destruction the two fifth-century basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and Santa Sabina on the Aventine must rank as the best representatives of the type, though they have unfortunately lost much of their early character. On the whole the early basilicas of Ravenna are in better preservation, and among them Sant' Apollinare in Classe takes the first place (Ill. 91).

250. It is a task of no great difficulty to form a complete picture of the early Christian basilicas from the monuments preserved, and the data left by authors.

In addition to the component parts mentioned above, the following were generally present. There was usually the square, open fore-court or atrium, surrounded by a portico, with a fountain or cantharus in the centre for symbolic purification. Then, rising above the entrance and decorated with mosaic or sculpture, the front, of which the windows, like those of the nave, flooded the interior with light. Further, the railed-off space of the narthex placed across the nave and intended to accommodate those who were not allowed to follow the liturgy with the faithful. Further still, in the centre, towards the end of the nave, was the square choir (*schola cantorum*), enclosing within a grating the clergy of inferior rank, and having at each side a reading-desk or *ambo* from which lessons and sermons were delivered. Finally, on the

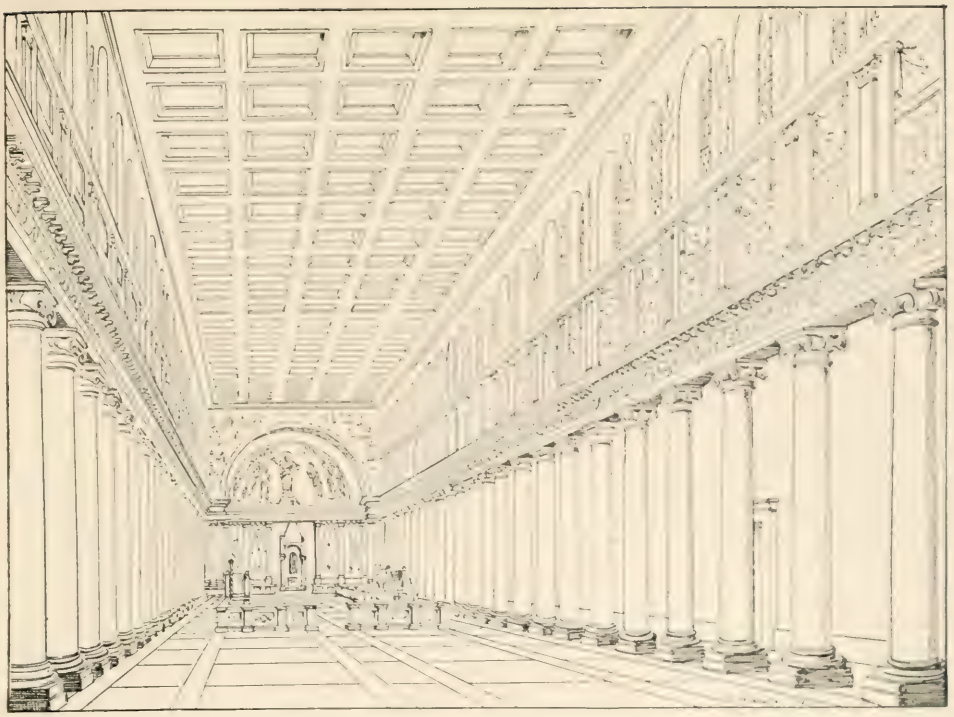
further side of this choir or chancel was the *confessio*, above which was the altar, forming a centre of attraction for the whole congregation. Being usually surmounted by a pillared tabernacle or canopy, it occupied the most commanding position in the building.

We give two drawings which attempt to reproduce the basilica Santa Maria Maggiore in its original condition, and render what we have here described more easy of realisation (Ills. 92 and 93).

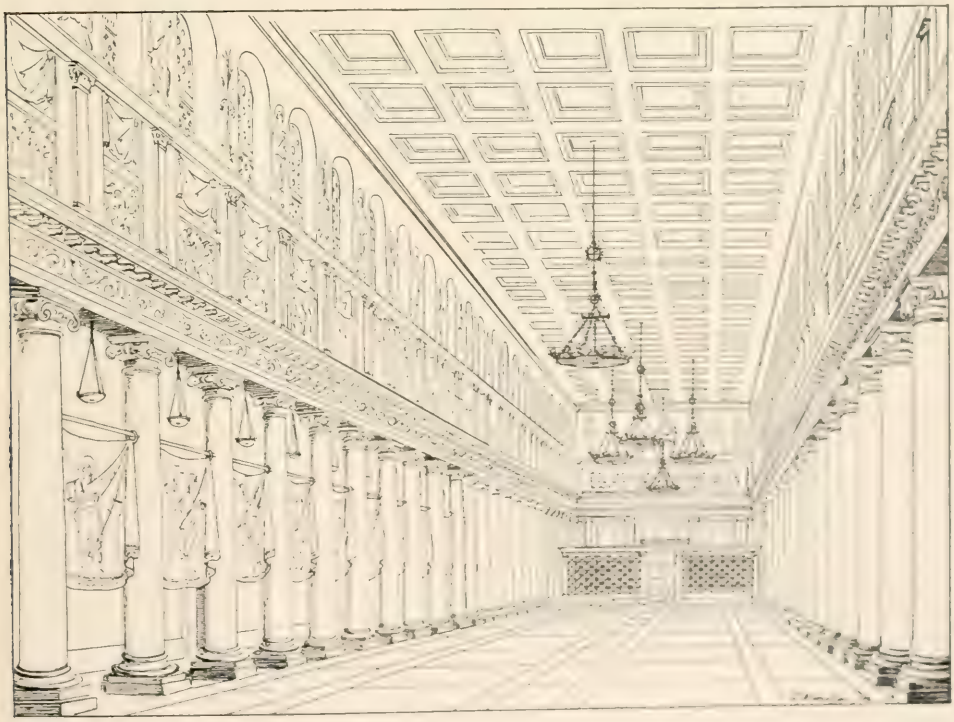
The office and dignity of the altar is also typified by the apse, which opens behind it—a sort of more intimate sanctuary, usually richly decorated as beseemed its importance. On entering, the eye, following the majestic lines of columns, rests upon the glistening shell-shaped vault or concha of the apse; and lingers perforce on the grand and almost unearthly figures depicted on the golden background. These figures were usually our Saviour surrounded by His saints; nor were they ill-chosen, for our Saviour is the Victim to whom the house of God is reared, and around whom the congregation assembles as a family.

Other things contributed to give the building its mingled character of impressiveness and charm.

First of all there was the marble decoration of the interior. Since the time of the emperors, Rome was overloaded with marble of every description. In the fourth and fifth centuries crumbling public edifices, imperial and private villas in the Campagna, and fresh consignments from foreign lands due to the munificence of the Christian sovereigns, provided ample material of the choicest kind for the rising basilicas. This material frequently had been already chiselled, so that it was possible to use it without further ado. Not only were the columns of marble, but even the walls were faced with polished marble slabs of various colours, arranged in stripes or geometrical figures. The floor was also covered with white marble or coloured mosaic. Those portions of the walls which were not covered with marble were filled with pictures in mosaic or painting, this being especially the case with the walls of the apse. The columns supported, either a series of arches, or a marble entablature, above which ran a frieze and cornice suitably decorated with sculptures and mosaics. Huge curtains, often embroidered or woven in rich material, hung between the pillars. By making the curtains longer and drawing them together the side aisles could be completely cut off. There were also curtains, both for use and for ornament, at the entrances. They may be



Ill. 92.—Santa Maria Maggiore. Interior looking towards the Altar.
(Reconstruction.)



Ill. 93.—Santa Maria Maggiore. Interior looking towards the Narthex.
(Reconstruction.)

seen in the basilicas which figure on some early sculptures. Curtains also surrounded the pillared tabernacle of the altar, which could thus at the right moment be hidden from the public gaze.

Had the eyes been raised to the lofty rows of windows in the nave they would have been arrested by the pictures, chiefly depicting saints, beneath and between each light, and seeming to look down upon the spectator. Admiration would likewise have been aroused by the broad span of the ceiling which, with its rich decorations, covered the whole nave. Basilicas, as a rule, had flat **Ceilings** (*laqueare* or *lacunar*) placed horizontally to the slanting timber-work of the roof and often ornamented with panels. From the ceiling hung lamps of varied design to illuminate the hall on festive occasions. In rare cases the bare beams and rafters of the roof were visible from below, and helped to strengthen the impression of the building as one vast hall; the absence of a ceiling was not, however, in keeping with Roman habits or demands.

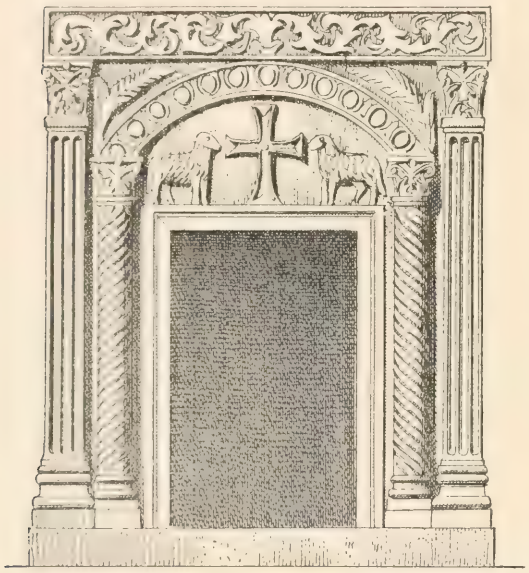
A very frequent device found in basilicas, particularly in Rome, was the so-called **Pergula**. This consisted of a small row of columns, connected at the top by an entablature and below by a balustrade which crossed the basilica between the chancel and the altar. This in some way resembled the Greek Iconostasis, though it did not form a dividing wall, obstructing the view of the sanctuary, but merely an ornamental structure, with open spaces between the columns. Usually it served to support candlesticks and statues, while lamps, crosses, crowns, and votive offerings, sometimes even chalices and ampullæ, hung from it. It did duty as a barrier separating the "presbytery" from the people, and at the same time added to the splendour of the altar's neighbourhood. One such *Pergula* is well known to have existed at St. Peter's and was frequently imitated elsewhere.[1]

The **Altar** was a simple stone table. A square slab of marble or *mensa* rested upon a stout pillar or on two or four legs shaped as pillars. Below the *mensa*, and between the pillars, was a closed cavity for the relics, unless, indeed, there was a vault or crypt containing a saint's body or his relics. The altar stood upon a

[1] On the Pergula, see the passage in the *Liber pontificalis*, I, 417 ff.; *Gregorius III.*, n. 195 ff. An example, though of rather later date, exists in the fine restoration by Giovenale of an altar and pergula at Sta. Maria in Cosmedin. Cp. F. MAZZANTI, *La scultura ornamentale romana nei bassi tempi* (*Archivio stor. dell' arte*, 1896), p. 31. Cp. ibid., p. 38, the pergula by Leprignano. See also ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *La Messe*, Pl. 240 ff.

plinth, as may be seen, for instance, upon the four altars represented in mosaic in the cupola of San Giovanni in Fonte at Ravenna. One of the best earlier examples of altars is that of the sixth century at Sant' Apollinare in Classe, near the same city.[1]

The significance of the altar was impressed on the spectator by the pillared "tabernacle" which overshadowed it. This was a sort of baldachin in stone or metal, sometimes even in silver, which rested upon four pillars placed about the altar. From the small cupola which the structure formed above the altar, the tabernacle acquired the name of *Ciborium* (*κιβώριον*, a goblet). The roof of the Ciborium towered above the Pergula, and with reason, for it covered the real centre of the church. From within the Ciborium hung the dove or other vessel in precious metal, containing the Eucharistic Bread.[2]



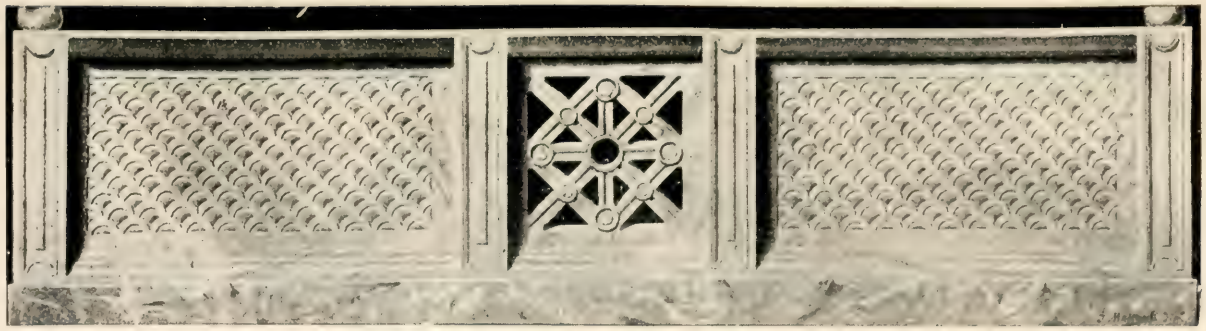
Ill. 94.—Altar of Sant' Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna.

From Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, I. Pl. 30.

In Rome, **Transepts** were frequently added to the end of the nave near the apse, to increase the space available for liturgical functions. This necessitated the construction of arches over the entrances from the nave and aisles into the transept. Walking down the nave, a visitor would have found himself under a great arch, called the Triumphal Arch, spanning the entire space between the last two columns. Immediately beyond he would see the two arms of the tran-

[1] Copy of a portion of the mosaic in Holtzinger, p. 115; Rohault de Fleury, Pl. 29.

[2] The *Liber pont.*, *Silvester*, speaks of the *fastidium* of the Lateran Church (Duchesne, I, 172, 191: "*fastidium, argenteum, battutilem*"). The use of the Eucharistic Dove persisted long afterwards. At the Archæological Exhibition at Orvieto, 1896, there was one from Frassinoro. See my notice in the *Civiltà catt.*, 1896, 4, 463 ff. (with photograph), and in the *Nuovo Bull. di archeol. crist.*, 1897, p. 18 (with another illustration). In Germany one has been quite recently discovered at Münstermaifeld, in the diocese of Treves.



Ill. 95.—Marble Balustrade from San Lorenzo fuori le mura.
(Fifth century work reconstructed from the fragments. After Mazzanti.)

A

B

C

Ill. 96.—Fifth Century Work from Santa Sabina. (After Mazzanti.)

sept opening out to right and left. Though they usually emerged only slightly, if at all, from the main walls of the church, they afforded a considerable addition of free space. This served partly for the accommodation of altars to receive the oblations (*oblata*) of the multitude, partly for reserved seats for distinguished people (*senatoria* and *matronaea*), and partly, too, for liturgical functions. For instance, at St. Peter's, since the days of Pope Damasus, the right transept served for administering baptism and confirmation. The transept led to the altar being shifted slightly more towards the nave, so that it assumed a position in front of the apse instead of inside it. Properly speaking, the altar belonged indeed to the apse, but there was a certain advantage in bringing it forward towards the transept and surmounting it by the Triumphal Arch, the effect being then even more imposing.

Let us enter the **Apse**. Here we first pass the marble balustrade which, with its rilievo work, formed an ornament peculiar to the basilicas (Ills. 95 and 96).

After ascending one or more steps into the apse we see the bishop's marble throne erected in the centre of the recess. Like the classical marble chairs, it is provided with back and arms; in many cases it was merely an ancient stool purloined unceremoniously from some older edifice. It was approached by steps, its height denoting the rank of its occupier, which was likewise evinced by its position at the end of the basilica. A marble bench ran round the base of the semicircle, on which the clergy sat whenever they celebrated, according to ancient custom, with the bishop, or assisted in any way at the office. In some basilicas, such as, for instance, in that of St. Agnes in the *Via Nomentana*, or in SS. Nereus and Achilleus on the Appian Way, the wall of the apse is still faced with massive ancient marble slabs. The panelling was suitably finished off at the point where the vault of the concha begins by a richly decorated cornice. In early times the piercing of the apse by windows was very unusual.

Some basilicas had the further peculiarity of an ambulatory outside the circuit of the apse. Where this was the case there were open arches in the wall of the apse, people in the ambulatory being thus enabled to watch the performance of the liturgy. That such an arrangement existed we have now many proofs afforded by recent research into the construction of early Christian buildings.

From the *Liber pontificalis* we know that there was a pierced apse at Sta. Maria Maggiore; that the same was the case at SS. Cosma e Damiane we know from the portions of this church still existing on the Forum (see Vol. I., Ill. 52). There was also an apse of this kind in the Basilica Severiana, in San Giovanni Maggiore at Naples, in the Basilica of Prato near Avellino, and above all, not to speak of examples outside Italy, in the now vanished double Basilica of St. Paulinus at Nola. The description of this last building still exists, written by St. Paulinus himself, who founded the church. Quite lately, too, we have obtained information of a similar pierced apse in S. Sebastiano on the *Via Appia* (the *Basilica apostolorum* of the fourth century) where traces still exist of this arrangement.[1]

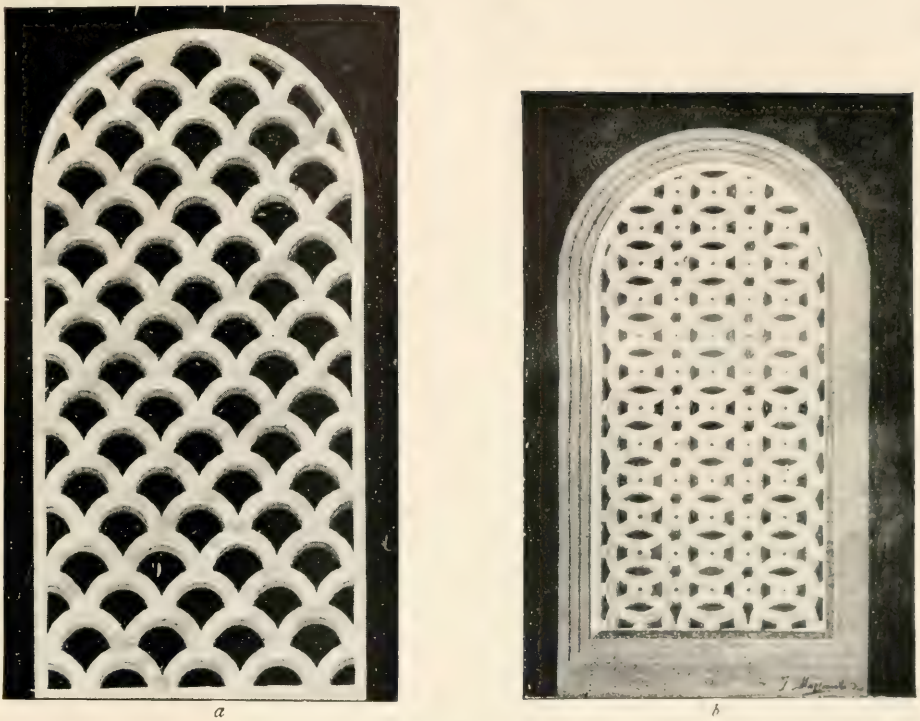
251. The outside of the basilicas was not decorated to the same extent as the interior. In fact the outside offered a real contrast to the lavish splendour and beauty of the interior.

Outside, the simple brick building with its long, straight body, broken only by arched windows, in which the lean-to roofs of the side aisles were somewhat monotonously surmounted by the high roof of the nave, lacked artistic variety. The windows themselves usually consisted of thin slabs of marble perforated in all sorts of patterns (Ill. 97), sometimes, though rarely, filled with glass. In a word, the outward aspect of the buildings was almost mean. That even the exterior had occasionally a certain grandeur of its own is, however, manifest from the drawings left us of old St. Paul's on the *Via Ostia* close to the Tiber (Ill. 98).[2]

Certain architectural difficulties were left unsolved in the exteriors of ancient basilicas. In some matters of importance they display considerable faultiness. For instance, in front there was a lack of due proportion between the upper and lower portion of the wall. Instead of a transition from one to the other there was an abrupt spring from the wall to the overhanging roof of the vestibule. The upper wall was often decorated with mosaics, and the portico was also richly decorated; sometimes, too, as in old St. Peter's, the roof of this hall was varied by tiles, and a sort of

[1] On Nola, PAULINUS, *Epist.* 32 *ad Severum.*, poem, 27, 28, 29. HOLTZINGER, *Die Basilica des Paulinus von Nola*, in *Zeitsch. für bildende Kunst* (1885), 135 ff. For S. Sebastiano, *Bullett. di arch. crist.*, 1891, pp. 12, 16.

[2] From LETAROUILLY, *Édifices de Rome*, Pl. 334. The view of the river has been blocked out. The campanile is mediæval, the portico is of still later work, and the wall surrounding the atrium is modern. To the right is seen the old monastery attached to the basilica. To the left the masonry supporting the wall of the transept is of late date.



Ill. 97.—Pierced Marble Windows.

(*a*) From fragments found in the Roman Forum ; (*b*) A window from a balcony in the Cels[illegible], now in the Museo del Orto Botanico. Both are fifth century work. (After Mazzanti.)

porch was added in front of the church door. The difficulty was met in some measure by these means, but the contrast remained between the spacious upper front and the badly connected lower portion. A similar defect existed at the back of the basilica. Here the roof of the apse went far up the flat wall, into which it was gradually merged; but here, too, there was lacking a well-knit architectural combination of a character to please the eye.[1]

It would therefore be a mistake to think that the early basilica was architecturally perfect. In the basilica, ecclesiastical art

Ill. 98.—St. Paul's on the Ostian Way.
Before the fire in 1823.

merely evolved a style of building suited to the requirements of Divine worship. Certain imperfections also clung to the basilicas in consequence of their origin, they having been modelled on dwelling-houses, with the adoption of a few extraneous details. The defects of the basilicas are, however, insignificant in comparison with the chaste and venerable character shared by all these buildings, particularly in their interior.

It was in these basilicas that the victorious Church spent her

[1] Dehio, p. 115 ff. Cp. on the basilican style: Holtzinger, *Altchristl. und byzant. Baukunst.* (*Hdb. der Archit.*, 2, 3, 1), p. 25 ff.; *Altchristl. Basiliken in Rom und Ravenna* (Bormann and Graul, *Die Baukunst*, 4); Grisar, *Civ. catt.* (1898), 3, p. 718 ff., 4, p. 460 ff. (1899), 1, p. 214.

youth. They were eye-witnesses of many a mighty battle and glorious triumph. In Rome the basilicas were for centuries the resort of fervent pilgrims from every part of the Christian world.

Yet blind prejudice alone could regret that this style was not retained through all time, or desiderate a reversion to it. Church architecture in the Middle Ages made enormous progress on the basilica, though the principle of its development is only now beginning to be understood and coming into its due. Amidst all the alterations the fundamental plan of the basilica was, however, always retained.

The so-called **Romanesque** style was obviously based upon the early Christian basilica. The pillared basilica of the early Middle Ages, with its vaulted roof and outside decoration, was merely a development of the church of the fourth and fifth centuries, though it marks a genuine architectural advance.

The **Gothic** style, which in time superseded the Romanesque, had still better right to be considered an advance. Nevertheless, even this last progressed along the old traditional lines, being really an improvement on the older Romanesque style of building. All it did was to express the traditional ideas with more harmony and force. It embodied the ideas, ecclesiastic and classic, expressed by the basilica in a form agreeable to the requirements of the Germanic and Romance nations, gratifying their love of power and their leaning to symbolism and mysticism.

252. In order to acquaint ourselves the better with the ideas embodied in the basilica, let us once more re-enter one. The contrast between the insignificance of the outside and the impressive grandeur and luxury of the interior cannot fail to strike us forcibly. The basilica, so to speak, hides its beauty from the scurrying world, and reveals it only to those who seek God within.

In this we have a replica of the attitude of Christianity in the midst of society at the time of the downfall of paganism. However willingly the Church adopted all that was good and permanent in the culture of classical antiquity; however much she associated herself with all the currents of the day in order to sanctify and elevate them, there always remained a gulf fixed between the world and its heathen memories on the one hand, and the pure regions on the other, in which the Church worshipped the Creator of all things "in spirit and in truth."

The contrast with the "World" was taught by the Gospel,

and also by the Fathers. It was therefore right that this should be expressed in Christian architecture, and especially in the outward aversion of the basilica for the pomps and vanities of the world.

The very fore-court or atrium, into the lofty enclosure of which we enter before crossing the sacred threshold, seems to admonish us to collect our thoughts. Its majestic gateway, often consisting of columns and arches (*Prothyron*); the seclusion and calm of the interior of the court, where we hear no sound but the splashing of the *Cantharus* to remind us of inward purification; the sarcophagi of the departed lined up in the cloisters; the scenes from the life of Christ and of the saints on the front—all unite in creating the frame of mind with which one should enter the house of God. This fore-court in itself contains a sermon on seclusion from the world and religious concentration.

In the holy temple itself the newcomer is struck with astonishment and admiration at the splendour displayed in God's honour. A consciousness of the triumph of the Faith winning public recognition after having been so long oppressed, could not fail to have taken possession of the visitor in the years following Constantine. The impression of grandeur and splendour was, however, soon completed by the religious fervour awakened in the soul when the eye was cast down the majestic range of columns through the Triumphal Arch with its stately mosaics, and alighted on the mysterious decorations of the apse towering above the altar. The mighty pillars, in their ordered and regular lines, converge towards one point, namely, the Altar of Sacrifice, which is the centre of Faith and of Hope. The very walls seem to meet in the apse at the Cathedra of the Bishop—*i.e.* at the spot where he is seated—whom the congregation obey as God's own vicar.

The wide, spacious aisles of the church allow a full view of the assembly of the faithful gathered together as a single family—a well-organised family in which the sexes are kept apart. Even at the present day we still have inscriptions speaking of the men's side and of that of the women, and of the enclosure reserved for consecrated virgins. These enclosures were probably, as a rule, marked by wooden screens which could be readily shifted from one spot to another. That the division was made by the aisles is not likely. Nobles and officials had their place near the "Presbytery," and catechumens, like penitents, were separated

by the lattice of the narthex. In Rome the latter was not in front of the church, but usually at the commencement of the nave, and formed by fixing lattice-work on a high railing from one of the first pillars straight across the nave to the pillar opposite. The bishop or priest who read the Word of God from the ambones in the chancel could thus be heard by those who were standing in the narthex. In this way the spiritual head of the congregation had all the members of his family before him at once in the vast hall, of which the oneness was scarcely broken by the many columns.[1]

The co-ordination of entirely uniform parts is peculiar to basilican architecture, in which it differs essentially from the Gothic. The basilica consists of a system of parts, one supporting the other. To a certain extent this is typical of the character of the Romans, with their co-ordinate development of law and statecraft. Popular political action and reaction were quite alien to the spirit of the Romans, and only became possible in the freer atmosphere of the Middle Ages. The soaring mediæval cathedrals, with their wonderful balancing of opposing forces, are an embodiment of the post-Roman polity. The ideal of Gothic structures is height; that of the basilica is breadth and length. The number of comparatively low aisles, giving great spaciousness to the basilica, also expresses an idea dear to the Romans, viz. the extent and magnitude of the Roman Empire. Roman architecture was pervaded throughout by this character of massiveness and imposing magnitude.[2]

The interior of the basilica expresses, however, more than the mere idea of greatness. It is also beautiful in the Roman and classical meaning of the word.

Here, in the retirement of the sanctuary, the Church celebrates her triumph in the language of the day, by having recourse to the art of the period, which was truly the classic art of the Roman

[1] Bosius (*Roma sott.*, 2, c. 6) gives an inscription from a tomb at St. Peter's: "AD S. PETRVM APOSTOLVM ANTE REGIA | IN PORTICV COLVMNA SECVNDA QVANDO INTRAMVS | SINISTRA PARTE VIRORVM | LVCILLVS ET IANVARIA HONESTA FEMINA." This text does not, as was supposed, necessarily mean that the left aisle was reserved for men or the right for women. It is not reasonable to suppose that the people assembled only in the side aisles. On the fragment VIRGINVM CANC(ellus) from North Africa, see *Acad. des inscr.* (séance 6 Déc.), 1889. See also the passages cited by Schultze (*Archäologie*, p. 52 ff.), from the early Christian period.

[2] Cp. H. Schrörs, *Die kirchl. Baustile im Lichte der allgemeinen Culturentwicklung*, in the *Zeitschr. für christl. Kunst*, 9 (1896), 35 ff.

Empire, as yet uninfluenced by foreign spirit. Within the basilica all is cheerful and attractive, all is ennobled by the majesty and calm of the antique, so far as an art already struck with decay could allow.

The light from outside was not tempered, but streamed in abundantly through the stone fretwork which served as windows (*cp.* Ill. 97). It entered by as many lofty windows in the nave as there were arches above its columns. The radiant daylight shone on the splendid colouring of the pictured saints, bringing in triumph their crowns to Christ. It glistened on the marble walls and columns as though calling all present to rejoice in the triumph of the Church over the hostile forces of hell. The symbol of this triumph was the crowned monogram of Christ, which was frequently inserted in gold mosaic on the keystone of the Triumphal Arch. It also figured in other parts of the interior, particularly on the capitals.

The tessellated floor, which in those days was unencumbered with benches, freely reflected the light; the wealth of hangings and votive offerings; the dazzling blaze of burning lights—particularly at the evening services on great vigils and festivals—in which the polished pillars shone again like candelabra; finally, the mosaic figures, which, especially in artificial light, seemed magnified and almost endowed with life and motion —all this combined to form a superb and entrancing spectacle. Such lavish splendour may perhaps appear extravagant to later taste, but for the centuries which followed Constantine it was a genuine Roman expression of religious triumph, and served to strengthen the Christian Romans in their faith. Let us only imagine the feelings of a cultured Christian foreigner on a visit to Rome and, full of wonder, entering these basilicas for the first time. The very existence of the Church at that period, the strengthening of her position in the world, made it imperative that she should thus be presented to her children and to those who were still strangers to her.[1]

What we have described is the basilica in its full festal raiment, which, needless to say, it did not always and everywhere affect. Not every basilica was enriched with the gifts of all Christendom like the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, or of the Lateran—that apple of the Pope's eye—or the Esquiline Basilica of our

[1] We shall deal later with the manner of lighting and furnishing the larger basilicas.

Lady, the greatest of Mary's churches in the Western Empire. All basilicas, however, even the least favoured, were architecturally apt to elevate the souls of their visitors.

253. In order to see how the already complex **Liturgy** received an appropriate setting in the basilica, and how well it there found itself at home, it is only necessary to recall it to mind. The entrance of the celebrant and accompanying clergy could take place with far greater ceremony in the long-stretched hall than in a circular building. Suitable positions existed, moreover, for each different function—for the Sacrifice of the Altar, the lessons, and for the accompaniment rendered by the singers in the choir.

When the choir intoned the old melodies in which was enshrined the best and most sacred of the classical music of antiquity, purified according to Christian canons—for such indeed is what we now call plain chant—the impression came that, after all, a certain likeness existed between the chant and the form and decoration of the basilica. These melodies mainly consisted in a manner of **chanting** in which a measure was repeated with regularity, thus admirably expressing the reposeful action of prayer. The psalms and responses, for instance, were thus rendered. We have here a quiet, constant succession analogous to that of the columns of the basilica. The soft cadence of these airs seemed to undulate as harmoniously along the aisles as the long series of arches converging on the apse. There was a livelier and more free kind of singing, for instance, at the Gradual, the Tract, and the Alleluia, in which rhythm and melody followed the burden of the words and the feelings of the singer. The voices, now jubilant, now solemn, now raised in supplication, now full of thanksgiving, resembled the changeful and luxuriant decoration of the church. Yet just as the decoration of the basilica was ordered with a view to one effect, and indeed in a sense converged on one point in the apse, so also the vocal music was subject to rule, the melodies being combined so as to produce one total effect, the repetition of similar musical phrases expressing similar frames of mind, and the concluding cadences varying according to the tone adopted.

The basilica was pervaded by a spirit different from that of the heathen temples. The difference in form expresses the contrast between the two worships. All the glory of an ancient temple was without. The open area, the superb portico, the

glistening marble walls adorned with statues, the frontals with their rich sculpture and bright acroteria, the tasteful friezes with their allegoric or mythological figures, the carefully designed roof, often covered with bronze-gilt tiles—all this outward show enclosed a small, dimly-lighted temple-space, the cella, with its image of the god. The people did not meet in the temple itself, but in the open air, amid surroundings quite unsuited to the recollection called for by the presence of God. The crowd itself, unlike that in the basilica, bore no resemblance to a family made one in Faith and Hope, and in which rank is sunk. The comparison shows plainly how the basilica, the "House of God"—*Aula Dei* or *Dominicum*, as it was often called—was also the *domus ecclesiae*, *i.e.* the home of the congregation, a holy meeting-place resorted to by the poorest as well as by those blessed with the wealth of the world.[1]

Old St. Paul's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and Sta. Sabina: Three Specimens of Early Christian Architecture

254. Through a misfortune which can never be sufficiently deplored, the finest example of a Roman basilica preserved down to the nineteenth century was destroyed in 1823, when a fire laid waste the basilica above the Tomb of St. Paul on the Ostian Way. Of the two other largest basilicas in the city, old St. Peter's with its five aisles has long ago disappeared, whilst the venerable Lateran Basilica, which also once had five aisles, though it still exists, has almost entirely lost its ancient form in

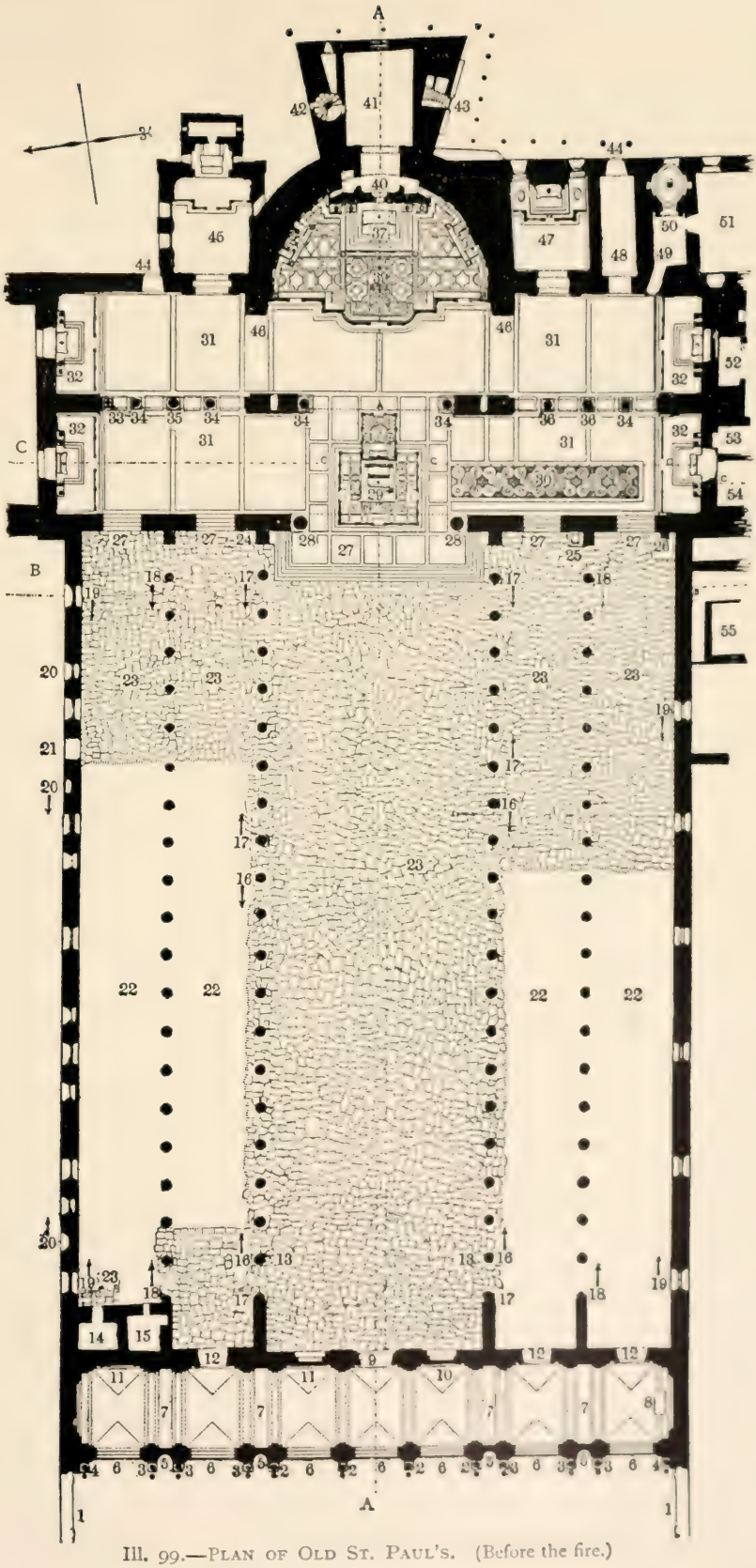
[1] AVLA DEI CLARIS RADIAT SPECIOSA METALLIS | IN QVA PLVS FIDEI LVX PRETIOSA MICAT. So begins a sixth-century inscription in SS. Cosmas and Damian, which is characteristic of the splendour of the Basilicas. See GRISAR, *Analecta Rom.*, 1, 81. EUSEB., *Hist. eccl.*, VIII., c. 13: τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἱ οἶκοι, VII., c. 30: ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἶκος. *Dominicum* comes from *dominus* (*domus Domini*), and resembles κυριακόν, whence "kirk" and "church." In Rome *Dominicum* was tantamount to Basilica, though more rarely used. There is a well-known inscription of the first half of the fourth century on the metal collar of an escaped slave. In the event of again escaping he was to be brought back to the church of St. Clement: TENE ME Q | VIA FVG. ET REB | OCA ME VICTOR | I · ACOLIT | O A DOMIN | ICV CLEMENTIS | ☧. DE ROSSI, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, 1803, p. 25. Next to the name of the patron saint it was usual to put that of the founder of the basilica. Both are seen on the bronze collar of some animal, possibly a shepherd's dog, belonging to St. Paul's. A ☧ Ω AD BASILICA APOS | TOLI PAVLI ET DDD NNN FILI-CISSIMI PECOR, where "*domini nostri*" stands for the three emperors, who ordered the restoration of this church, as is mentioned below, p. 107. DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1874, p. 63.

consequence of repeated alterations. The two best preserved of the larger basilicas are, as we have already remarked, Sta. Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline, and Sta. Sabina on the Aventine. Both of them and old St. Paul's deserve closer examination. We couple old St. Paul's with the two existing basilicas because, though destroyed, we are better informed about it than about the earlier appearance of old St. Peter's, or of the original church of the Lateran. We have sketches, views, and descriptions made of St. Paul's in the last century, which we have not for the other basilicas. Neither did the fire destroy it entirely, for the transept, with the Triumphal Arch and the apse, were spared. The handsome new building which replaced the old one, and was erected on the same spot, differs materially in character from its predecessor. St. Paul's is also more interesting to the student, since it belongs to the fourth century, whereas Sta. Maria Maggiore and Sta. Sabina were erected only in the fifth.[1]

To state briefly the peculiarities of old **St. Paul's,** we may say that it was of greater dimensions than any other basilica in Rome, not excepting old St. Peter's. The nave and side aisles were 390 feet in length, and their total width was 195 feet. The huge nave completely dwarfed the side aisles, as may be seen in Ill. 99, which shows the ground plan of the church taken shortly before the disaster of 1823. At the end of the nave the span of the Triumphal Arch measured some 46 feet. To the right and left the arch was supported by a colossal column provided with an architrave, forming a fitting conclusion to the central lines of pillars. No fewer than eighty pillars, all of the Corinthian order, but of various marble and with irregular bases, some being early work and others new, supported the nave and adjoining aisles. Each of the four colonnades consisted of twenty pillars, all surmounted by arches, giving abundant variety to the structure. The pillars had been purloined from divers public buildings. In

[1] NICOLAI, *Basil. di S. Paolo*, Roma, 1815. With plates. This work was partly written by NIBBY, especially where inscriptions are treated. ROSSINI (*Sette colli di Roma*, 2, Pl. 99 ff.) gives some good views. Cp. HÜBSCH, *Kirchen*, Pl. 10, 11, 12; DEHIO, Pl. 17, n. 1 and 21; and the illustrations in HOLTZINGER, 24, 43, 88, and 188; and in KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 322.

Note to Ill. 99.—After NICOLAI, *Basilica di S. Paolo*, plate slightly amended. For the explanation of the numbers, see Nicolai. The usual entrance was not in the atrium (A), but at the back of the church (44). To the right (52, 53) is seen the commencement of the cloisters.



Ill. 99.—Plan of Old St. Paul's. (Before the fire.)

the aisles were twenty-four of choice Pavonazzetto marble taken from the *Basilica Æmilia* on the Forum. Some of these, salved from the fire, have been refurbished and set up again—four at the side altars of the transept and four in the apse.[1]

After the Triumphal Arch came the transept, of which the uncommon width even exceeded that of the nave. This transept, however, projected scarcely more than the depth of two walls from the main line of the building, whereas at St. Peter's and at the Lateran the transepts jutted out considerably further.

The altar of St. Paul's (Ill. 99[29]), which was erected over the Tomb of the Apostle, stood in the midst of the transept, near the Triumphal Arch, and on the same spot where it still stands. Between the apse and the altar were twenty pillars, mostly of porphyry, which were removed by Sixtus V. They stood round that portion of the altar turned towards the apse, and supported an entablature with statues and lamps.[2]

Turning towards the five entrances at the opposite end of the church, the spectator was struck by the panelled ceiling, richly ornamented with gold, which concealed the roof. It appears that under Leo I. a similar gorgeous ceiling was put up after lightning had destroyed the previous one. During the ninth century the work was again done anew.[3]

Beneath this broad, flat ceiling an effective series of windows, consisting of pierced marble slabs, stretched right and left along the clerestory. Including the transept, the Basilica contained sixty-six large and forty-one smaller windows. Between each upper window a large figure was painted, whilst below was a double row of square panels set in painted frames, and depicting scenes from the Old and New Testament. Judging by a few

[1] GIOVANNI DONDI, in the interesting description of the Basilica, which he wrote about 1375 (DE ROSSI, *Inscript. christ.*) speaks of ninety columns; PANVINIUS (*Septem eccl.*, p. 73) gives eighty-eight, but evidently they included subsidiary pillars not belonging to the original structure. The statistics furnished by both writers concerning the proportions of the Basilica are noteworthy. Illustration of a pillar in MOTHES, *Baukunst des MA. in Italien*, 1, Ill. 15. Ibid., Ill. 14, the Ionic columns of the Triumphal Arch. On the controversy between Lanciani and de Rossi regarding the Pavonazzetto columns, see *Mittheil. des archäol. Inst.*, 1888, p. 95, and 1889, p. 242. The name of Hadrian's consort, Julia Sabina, is found upon some of these columns, a fact which makes it doubtful whether they came from the *Basilica Æmilia*, which was already standing in Julia's time.

[2] UGONIO, *Stationi*, p. 237. The *Liber pont.* says of Leo III. (2, 30, n. 410): "*super columnas marmoreas, quae stant in circuitu altaris, ex metallis marmoreis platomas posuit.*" These pillars had before merely a wooden entablature.

[3] *Liber pont.*, 1, 239, *Leo I.*, n. 66. The "*camera*" here alluded to seems to me to mean the ceiling.

copies of these taken during the seventeenth century, and now at the Barberini Museum, modern experts have decided with tolerable certainty that many of these pictures belong to a date earlier than the eleventh century. Some of them may even have been restorations of works dating from the foundation of the Basilica.[1]

Immediately above the line of arches, two to each, were medallions with the portraits of the Roman Bishops. As specimens of the most ancient we give (Ill. 100 and 101) those of Damasus and Siricius. These busts each had a marginal inscription giving the name of the bishop represented. At the Lateran Basilica and at St. Peter's there were similar illustrated series of the Popes. The Basilica of Sant' Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna also kept the portraits of the bishops of that city (see Ill. 91). It is possible that this custom of placing the bishops' portraits in churches corresponded to the ancient custom of adorning mansions with circular portraits of the owner's ancestors. In Rome these likenesses of the Popes had an added importance in that they evinced in monumental language the apostolic succession of the heirs of Peter. They were a lasting testimony, borne by the three leading churches of Rome, to the right of supremacy assumed by each successor of the Prince of the Apostles. They silently proclaimed that communion with

[1] E. Muntz, *L'ancienne basilique de St. Paul hors-les-murs, ses fresques et ses mosaïques*, &c., in *Revue de l'art chrét.*, 1898, p. 1 ff., with Pl. 1 and 2 from the Barberini Library.

Note to Ills. 100–101.—Photographs by Commendatore C. Tenerani. Damasus is better preserved than Siricius, whose vesture has been badly touched up by a later artist. Damasus is wearing a white crimson-edged tunic and a dark yellow pallium, which is thrown over his shoulder and covers his left arm. The latter is not the pallium as it will later be worn by archbishops, but the classical pallium, such as is worn by all the ancient Popes of this series; this explains the absence of the cross which figures on the ecclesiastical pallium. The size of the tonsure is typical. The portrait of Damasus is 82 centimetres in height, that of Siricius 81. The background is grey, encircled in green, in a red and yellow frame. An inscription beside each Pope gives the length of his pontificate in years, months, and days:

DAMA	SIRICI
SVS	VS SED.
SED.	ANN.
ANN.	XV
XVIII	M. XI
M. II D.	D. XXV
X	

Other instances of such Christian *imagines clypeatae* are the portraits in the Oratory of St. Chrysogonus at Ravenna (Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 224 f.); of the Apostles on the Triumphal Arch of San Vitale, in the same city (ibid., Pl. 259); and those in the chapel of Zeno at Santa Prassede, in Rome (ibid., Pl. 287). See also our Ill. 91.

Ill. 100, 101.—Two of the oldest Portraits from St. Paul's.
Damasus (above) and Siricius.

the bearers of the Papal power is the touchstone of unity and orthodoxy.[1]

The portraits themselves at St. Paul's, St. Peter's, and the Lateran were not so much authentic likenesses as idealised pictures. The heads still preserved from old St. Paul's prove this by the way in which one resembles the other. Against the modern mosaics which now replace those earlier paintings of the Popes a charge of uniformity cannot be brought, for they offer a remarkable diversity of types, though, no more than their predecessors, do they pretend to historical accuracy, which indeed is no longer possible. It is only when we come to the Popes of the fifteenth century that the pictures can have any claim to be genuine portraits. On the contrary, it is practically certain that the great mosaics on the Triumphal Arch of St. Paul's carry us back to antiquity. With them we have already dealt (p. 73 ff.) in speaking of Pope Leo I.

255. An inscription extant, though altered, reminds us that this "Aula" was begun by Theodosius and completed by Honorius to the glory of the Apostle Paul, the "Teacher of the World." As a fact, Theodosius the Great in conjunction with Valentinian II. and Arcadius had, by an edict of the year 386, ordered building operations to be commenced. By the time that the church was ready to be consecrated under Pope Siricius, in 390, the Emperor Theodosius was also sovereign of Italy. We still have the inscriptions referring to this dedication, which formerly were set on the first pillar of the second northern aisle, probably because this was the last to be erected. Unluckily this cipollino-pillar, owing to its material, fared badly in the fire.[2]

[1] During the fire only forty-two portraits were saved, all from the south wall. They range from Peter to Innocent I.; thirty-four are to be identified by the early inscriptions; the portraits of Eleutherus and Dionysius were lost. DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1879, p. 122 ff. On these and other similar portraits, and on the origin of this decoration at S. Paul's, see DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.* I, xxv. ff. ("la série antique commençait au-dessus de la corniche, en haut de la nef, sur le mur méridional"); and MÜNTZ, l.c., p. 9 ff. The above-mentioned likenesses of the earliest Popes on the whole still preserve the character given them in the fifth century (cp. Ill. 100, 101), though traces are often found of mediæval restoration in the vesture. For instance, on the portrait of Pope Eusebius the *clavus* of the tunic is all awry. All these Popes wear, besides the white tunic with red *clavi*, the antique dark pallium of the rhetors and philosophers, not the ecclesiastical pallium, which is merely a white strip. Cp. my article, "*Das römische Pallium*," in the *Festschr. . . . des Campo Santo zu Rom* (1897), p. 93.

[2] See above (p. 15, Ill. 82), the inscription and our remarks on the pillar-base. DE ROSSI (*Musaici, Arco di Placidia*) calls attention to a statement made by MORONI alone (*Dizionario*, 12, 206), that in the middle of the shaft there was another inscription: *episcopus devotus*. The twelve ancient pillars of the present side portico, among which ours is found, were damaged by the fire, and had therefore to be re-chiselled.

For the larger of the ancient basilicas of Rome specially stamped bricks were used. The bricks of St. Paul's, as was proved by specimens unearthed, bore the words: "Our Lord Flavius Valentinian Augustus." This was the basilica's way of proclaiming that it owed its construction to the generosity of the Emperor. We have already alluded to the stamp borne by the bricks of St. Peter's: "Our Lord Constantine Augustus."[1] Doubtless the roof of St. Paul's was also formerly covered with its own special tiles, manufactured in the brickfields belonging to the State. About these, however, we know nothing, as the scholars of former days took but little interest in such matters. In recent years the roofs of many basilicas have yielded an unexpected harvest of antiquities, for in spite of the alterations and restorations which they have had to undergo, they still guard their archæological treasures. In 1895 no less than sixty-six large tiles bearing stamps of the fourth and fifth century were taken from the roof of Santa Maria Maggiore.[2]

The edict of the three Emperors in 386, which relates to the building of St. Paul's, is addressed to the City Prefect Sallustius. It commissions him to take counsel with Siricius, Bishop of Rome, and "with the people and Senate," with a view of erecting the proposed new church. The spot had hitherto been occupied by the small church of St. Paul, built by Constantine. The new basilica was not only to cover this same ground, but also all the space in front of it, formerly a part of the *Via Ostia;* indeed, the new church with its atrium stretched across the Ostian Way well-nigh to the bank of the Tiber. The architect of the building was called Cyriades. He is mentioned in the letters of Symmachus, the senator, as the *mechanicus* and *professor mechanicus*.[3]

The church built at the end of the fourth century—and the same is true of that of the present day—was oriented in a direction opposite to that erected by Constantine above the Tomb of St. Paul. Thus, under Constantine, the apse did not open west-

[1] D. N. FL. VALENTINIANVS AVG (Nicolai, *Basil. di S. Paolo*, p. 264; de Rossi, *Musaici, Arco di Placidia*). D. N. CONSTANTINVS AVG (Marini, *Iscrizioni doliari*, p. 73, n. 146; de Rossi, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 347, and *Musaici*, l.c.).

[2] See Mgr. Crostarosa, the industrious and successful explorer of Sta. Maria Maggiore, in the *Nuovo Bull. di archeol. crist.*, 2 (1896), 52 ff., and 3 (1897), 101.

[3] This Edict, which is of value for topography, says: "*iter vetus, quod Basilicae* [*Constantinianae*] *praeterit dorsum* [*i.e. absidem*] *quodque ripae Tiberini amnis adiacet.*" Panvinius, *De septem eccl.*, p. 71. It is published also in the *Epistulae collectionis avellanae*, ed. Günther, 1 (1895), 46. Cp. Stevenson, *Area di Lucina*, in *Nuovo Bull. di arch. crist.*, 4 (1898), p. 60 ff.

wards but eastwards, and the priest, who offered the sacrifice facing the people, accordingly looked towards the east.[1]

This orientation was the usual one at Rome in the case of the Constantinian churches and in that of many other ancient churches. Constantine's basilicas at St. Peter's and the Lateran led the way. We know, moreover, that the temples in Pagan times usually had their entrance to the east. Christians adopted this custom, and attached a mystic significance to the eastward position of the sacrificing priest facing the Paradise of Eden and the scene of the earliest promises. At the same time, where any reason for so doing existed, Christians made no difficulty about swerving from this direction. Examples occur in Rome which show that the direction of a street, or other circumstances, frequently made a deviation of ancient basilicas necessary. Of the Roman churches, forty-three face the east, forty-five the south, and fifty-two the west. In the case of St. Paul's the orientation of the second building was altered to gain ground and to avoid interfering with the tomb of the Apostle.[2]

256. In the progress of the work on the new church in 1834, and again in 1850, remains of the Constantinian Basilica were found, and even its plan was ascertained with some degree of certainty.[3]

It was noticed at once that the situation of St. Paul's tomb in his little basilica was the same as that of St. Peter's tomb in the basilica built by Constantine at the Vatican. The slab which covered the tomb since Constantine was level with the floor of the church. It bears an inscription, in genuine characters of Constantine's time, which runs :

PAVLO
APOSTOLO MART

The writing was turned towards the visitor, who advanced

[1] GRISAR, *Analecta rom.*, I, 290 ff.

[2] KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 281 ff., on orientation ; he bases his views on those of H. Nissen, who considered that the heathen temples were oriented according to the sun's position on the festival of the god. Nissen thinks he has proved that, in 211 churches, the buildings were so constructed as to face the rising sun on the "birthday" of their patron martyrs. According to Nissen's measurements, the east lies between 235°–303°, the south between 304°–353°, and the west between 56°–125°. Comparisons between heathen temples and Christian churches with respect to this matter are, however, still highly problematic.

[3] The plan of the ancient Basilica is given by BELLONI : *Sulla primitiva basilica ostiense* (1850) ; also by LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 150. Cp. STEVENSON in the *N. Bull. arch. crist.*, 1898, p. 60.

from the middle of the small three-aisled church towards the tomb and the altar erected over it. Above the tombstone was a chamber (*arca*) similar to that which we spoke of in describing St. Peter's tomb. From the tombstone a shaft descended into the actual tomb. This state of things was carefully maintained in the second Basilica of St. Paul's, erected by Valentinian or Theodosius. It remained all through the Middle Ages and down to last century, when the fire most fortunately spared the tomb. The altar also preserved the orientation it had received in the time of Constantine throughout the mediæval period and until the destruction of the church, although the position of the basilica had been reversed. At St. Paul's alone, of all the churches of mediæval Rome, the celebrant at Mass turned his back to the people and faced the apse, *i.e.* the east, as had been the case under Constantine. The foot of the tombstone, with its inscription yet legible, was also turned towards the east.[1]

There is another peculiarity of St. Paul's, due to the respect shown by antiquity to the immediate surroundings of the Apostle's tomb. Whereas elsewhere the *Pergula* or iconostasis and the choir (*schola cantorum*) were usually situated at the end of the nave in front of the *Confessio*, in the mediæval St. Paul's they were placed between the altar and the apse. Twenty pillars here formed a square and supported an entablature. This reminiscence of the Constantinian Basilica survived till the sixteenth century, when an inexorable decree of Pope Sixtus V. condemned it to destruction. It is difficult to suppress a sigh at the fate of the basilicas during the sixteenth century. The name of **Sixtus V.** is associated with the removal or destruction of many an architectural structure in the earliest churches of Rome, and his example unfortunately soon proved infectious. Many an interesting chancel, with its *ambones* for the lesson and gospel, which had lasted till then; many an ancient pillared *Pergula* and marble balustrade, sculptured in early Christian times, was sacrificed to the theory which held sway under Sixtus V., viz. that the early basilicas should be disencumbered so as to allow the eye to sweep unhindered to the throne in the apse. In the apse at the end of the basilica, Sixtus, with his cardinals, was

[1] See vol. i. p. 299 f., and *Analecta rom.*, 1, 259 ff., Dissertaz.: *Le tombe apostoliche al Vaticano ed alla Via Ostiense*, with a reproduction of the inscription on the slab (Pl. 7), from a new rubbing.

wont to perform the solemn liturgical rites which he had revived (*capellae*), and for which his alterations were expected to make room. It is distressing to read in his contemporary, Pompeo Ugonio, how recklessly changes were resolved on; still more distressing are the encomiums which this courtly writer lavished on Sixtus for his vandalism.[1]

So long as the ancient architectural details in St. Paul's remained untouched, the surroundings of the Apostle's tomb, Rome's second Palladium, must have been exceedingly imposing. We need only figure to ourselves the vast hall, which seems like an ante-room to the sepulchral dwelling-place of the Apostle; for the whole church is but a funeral monument above his ancient "Trophy" on the Ostian Way. The tabernacle or baldachin over the altar, supported by four costly pillars, guides the eye from afar to the holy place. High above the tabernacle rises the Triumphal Arch with its brilliant mosaics. The great semicircle of the apse in the half-light of the background fittingly terminates the whole monument. Truly a dignified and glorious memorial, so contrived as to attract the eye to the "regal home," which is the burial-place of the Apostle. This grand Theodosian monument to the Apostle of the Gentiles added yet more to its glory as time went on, owing to many additional decorations and the gifts which came to it from the whole Christian world.

257. Being the sepulchral basilica of an apostle, St. Paul's harboured a great number of distinguished tombs. In the adjacent cemetery, in its portico and in the interior, were the magnificent sarcophagi of the dead who had expressed a desire to rest near the Apostle of the Gentiles. The great inscriptions stretched as far as the neighbouring Catacomb of Lucina. Even to-day many of these on the walls of the cloisters at St. Paul's still mutely extol the departed, and bear witness to their faith and hope. At some unknown mediæval period these had been removed from the tombs—possibly when the latter had fallen into disrepair—and served for centuries as paving-stones for a portion of the basilica.

One group of inscriptions may be mentioned here as an example. They surround the tomb of Felix III., the contem-

[1] POMPEO UGONIO, *Historia delle Stationi di Roma*, Roma, 1588, dedicated to Camilla Peretti, sister of Sixtus V. Onuphrius Panvinius, like Ugonio, an archæologist, says of the *ambones* in St. Paul's: "*praegrandia e marmore pulpita, pro lectione epistolae et evangelii antiquitus facta et* ineptis sigillis *exornata.*" *De septem eccl.*, p. 74.

porary of the closing years of Odovacar, and therefore would seem to belong to remote ancestors of Gregory the Great, of whom Felix III. was one, for Gregory calls him *atavus meus*. Felix III. was the only Pope buried in St. Paul's. A large slab near his tomb bore the name of the pious matron Petronia, whom he had married before receiving priestly orders. In the metrical inscription she is extolled as the pattern of a deacon's wife (*levitae coniunx, forma pudoris*). Three members of her family were buried in the same tomb; their names stand under that of Petronia, introduced with the simple formula: *Hic requiescit.* There was Paula, a daughter of the Pope (*clarissima femina*); his little son, Gordian (*dulcissimus puer*); both, according to the dates given, must have died during the first two years of the pontificate of Felix III. (484 and 485). The third inscription mentions a holy virgin, Æmiliana (*Sacra virgo*), who had died in 489, and who doubtless was also one of the Pope's near relatives. The names of Gordian and Æmiliana reappear in the same family at the time of Gregory the Great, the father of this Pope being called Gordian. The tomb of the father of Felix III. was also quite near; at least it seems highly probable that the presbyter Felix, who is heard of in the history of the erection of St. Paul's, and whose metrical inscription is still preserved almost entire, was the Pope's father. As already stated, this presbyter restored the roof of Paul's shrine (*veneranda culmina Pauli*).[1]

258. If we quit the church by the main door we find ourselves in the great square atrium, which stretches down almost to the Tiber, whence the best view of the outside of the building was to be obtained. A good idea of what it was may be obtained from the drawings taken thence previous to the burning of the basilica (see Ill. 98). To see it, however, as it was in antiquity, the campanile should be struck out, early basilicas not having one. The church was, moreover, formerly surrounded by a circle of smaller buildings, among which were the alms-houses built by Pope Symmachus, similar to those he had erected near St. Peter's and near St. Lawrence's. Symmachus also established a bath in the neighbourhood. The mortuary chapels (*cubicula*) ranged about the church are mentioned under Pope Sergius I., who restored

[1] Text of epitaphs quoted with commentary in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 1, 366, 371. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 240, 253. GREG. M., *Hom.* 38 *in evang.*, n. 15 ("*tres pater meus sorores habuit, quarum . . . alia Gordiana, alia Æmiliana,*" &c.); *Dialog.*, 4, c. 16.

them, as well as an outer ambulatory. The inscription of a certain Eusebius describes the cemetery. Monasteries also must have existed here at an early date. In 1633, Giovanni Severano could still recognise the apse and entrance to an ancient church of St. Stephen, and the ancient fountain in the middle of the atrium was yet in existence in the fourteenth century, at the time of Cola di Rienzo. This tribune of the people, who was also a devoted explorer of Roman ruins, mentions this *cantharus aquarum* in his notebook. It was the identical fountain placed there by Leo the Great, but was soon to be destroyed, for Fra Giocondo, in the fifteenth century, could find only some fragments of the fine poetic inscription which it bore, and these, so he said, he discovered "among the thistles and thorns."[1]

For many ages this splendid basilica stood surrounded by nothing save wreck and ruin. The old basilicas of Rome witnessed many a great and striking event of history, but they, too, had to experience affliction and misery.

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259. If St. Paul's, so unhappily destroyed, was best fitted to bring before us the basilicas of the fourth century, we yet have two fairly well preserved specimens of those of the fifth century in the two richly decorated Basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and Santa Sabina.

Both churches were completed and consecrated under Xystus III. (432–440). The former had been preceded by a still earlier basilica on the same site. In the case of both, building materials were purloined from earlier public edifices; both also owe their orientation to the buildings formerly occupying the same spot, and to the direction of the old streets between which they were erected. In Santa Maria the celebrant faced the south-east; in Santa Sabina, on the contrary, the apse opened towards the north-west.

Both of these basilicas, with their square atrium in front of the main door, extended down to the ancient roads which went past them. In 1888 the old street of Santa Maria was partly

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 263, *Symmachus*, n. 80: "*pauperum habitacula, lulineum.*" Ibid., I, 375, *Sergius I.*, n. 163: "*tegnum* (=*tigna, tecta*) *et cubicula.*" The vicinity of such structures lead us to infer that the outer aisles were devoid of windows. On the inscription of Eusebius, see *Analecta rom.*, I, 100. On Cola di Rienzo and Giocondo, see LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 153.

excavated at the end of the great piazza; that of Santa Sabina passed between this church and the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus (Sant' Alessio) by the edge of the Aventine Hill above the Tiber, up to the point where "St. Sabina's stairs," as Gregory the Great called them, led down to the river. Both churches have long since lost their great atrium, which in each case has become a mere portico. In both instances, however, we may still find characteristic relics of the original buildings. To this category belong, for instance, the tiles discovered upon the roof of Santa Maria Maggiore with the monogram of Christ, the Greek genitive Kassiou (*i.e.* from the factory of Kassios or Cassius), and the initial letters of Christ, Michael, and Gabriel (Ill. 102).[1]

Ill. 102.—Stamp on the oldest Tiles of Santa Maria Maggiore (5th or 6th century).

A drawing from a cast taken by Mgr. Crostarosa.

On entering either of these stately churches we are captivated by the grace and harmony of their proportions (Ills. 103 and 104). Both are three-aisled. Santa Maria has forty-four Ionic columns supporting a straight entablature. The nave is 54 feet in width, but the two side aisles are each only 20 feet wide. The length

[1] For the origin of both Basilicas, see present work, vol. i., p. 193, 196 f., and the remarks below upon their earliest mosaic work. Discovery of the "strada romana quasi esattamente parallela alla facciata della basilica" in the *Bull. arch. com.*, 1888, p. 255. On S. Sabina, Greg. M., *Registrum*, 2, n. 10 (*Maur.*, 2, n. 8): "*hortum positum regione prima ante grados sanctae Sabinae.*" For the road between S. Alessio and S. Sabina, cp. Lanciani in the *Bull. dell' istit.*, 1890, p. 88, after the authoritative work by Merini on S. Alessio. For the erroneous statement in the *Martyrologium rom. parvum* (August 29): "*Romae ad arcum Faustini Sabinae martyris,*" cp. Grisar, *Analecta rom.*, 1, 243. For the bricks found by Mgr. Crostarosa, see *Nuovo Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1896, p. 52 ff.: *Inventario dei sigilli impressi sulle tegole del tetto di S. Maria Maggiore.* Cp. my article in the *Civiltà catt.*, 1896, 4, 471.

Note to Ill. 103.—New photograph by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani. See Ill. 107 for the details of the arches of Santa Sabina; for the polished stone on the half column in the middle, see vol. iii. Ill. 176-7. To understand the former appearance of the Basilica, we must suppose the row of round-arch windows restored, the rafters concealed by an elaborately decorated ceiling, the barriers enclosing the altar and *schola cantorum* restored according to the remains yet preserved, and, for the altar, a simple marble table surmounted by a pillared tabernacle. Thus ideally reconstructed, this church will serve to bring before us far more vividly than the present St. Paul's what an ancient basilica really was. May the Dominicans, in whose hands the church now is, and whose founder's history is linked with it, succeed in carrying out such a restoration, and give Rome and her visitors a glimpse of the former splendour of the city's basilicas. Means to carry out such a work would be found in the Associazione artistica fra i cultori di Architettura, which so successfully restored S. Maria in Cosmedin, and is now occupied at S. Saba on the Aventine.

Ill. 104.—Santa Sabina on the Aventine. (Interior as it now appears.)

of the basilica is more than 240 feet. The church of Santa Sabina, on the Aventine, is not quite so large. Its twenty-four beautifully fluted pillars belong to the Corinthian order; nor do they support an entablature, but a series of light arches. Santa Maria is less lofty now than formerly, for the floor has been materially raised, and, in consequence, new bases have been fixed to the columns to replace those covered up below. A result of this is that the flat roof, with its wealth of decoration, appears too heavy. Santa Sabina is quite different. In this poorer basilica the height of the nave has not been diminished, and the bases of the columns are the same as of old. The flat ceiling was, however, abolished long ago, so that the rafters are now visible. This circumstance increases the apparent size of the church, though this design did not enter into the plans of the early architects. In the clerestories of both basilicas we can still count the multitude of early windows with their semicircular arches, at present mostly bricked up. At one place in the outer wall of Santa Maria these windows may still be seen with their ancient unfaced brickwork. We have had them figured (Ill. 106), because they are the only portions—save the pillars, architrave, and mosaics of the inside—which give us a glimpse of the early aspect of the church.

With regard to the pillars and the mosaics, it is worth our while to compare the two sister churches. It will be seen that, even in structures belonging to the same period, the basilican style allowed of great variety and free handling. It will also soon be observed—and this is an important point in the history of Roman architecture—that churches very frequently drew both their plan and their materials from previous edifices situated on or near the same spot.

In Santa Maria the fine pillars of white Parian marble came from some earlier classical building. They may be from the Siciniinian Basilica which formerly stood in this so-called Sicininian quarter on the spot now occupied by the church, or from some other monument; perhaps they hail from the neighbouring portico of Livia. At the foot of some of the pillars, before the floor was raised, the name of Rufinus in ancient lettering could be read. Probably this was the name either of the quarry-owner or of the dealer who brought the pillars to Rome. The pillars in Santa Sabina came from a temple on the top of the Aventine.

To the present writer it was of great interest to find the name of Rufinus written in the popular style, RVFENO, upon the base of one of the columns in Santa Sabina. He also saw, in the sixth-century Roman basilica of SS. Martin and Silvester, the name PROPVS (Probus), in early Roman characters, on the shafts of two ancient pillars. The contractor Rufinus at Santa Maria and at Santa Sabina is probably one and the same person. He little dreamt that his pillars would one day form the leading ornament in two Christian basilicas, where they stand about the altar in the House of God.[1]

The pillars at Santa Maria support on their Ionic capitals an architrave which stands alone of its kind in Rome, on account of its graceful design, its mosaic decoration of classical garlands upon a gold ground with birds playing between them, and its remarkable state of preservation since the earliest days of the basilica. Above this line follow, first, the threefold architrave properly so called, then a broad frieze, and, finally, the cornice. This entablature, which crowns so artistically the volutes of the capitals throughout the length of the aula, contributes greatly to the majestic beauty characteristic of Santa Maria Maggiore.

The columns of Santa Sabina are not smooth, but tastefully and deeply fluted. They are of the same white Parian marble as those of Santa Maria. Above the columns of the nave, which have a more cheerful look than those of the other church, the architrave is replaced by arches, of which the brickwork is faced with slabs of variegated marble (Ill. 107). Upon this surface, according to fifth-century taste, figures and ornaments of a secular character are introduced, which are, however, frequently surmounted by small crosses of the same workmanship, art in those days endeavouring to hallow everything with the sign of our Redemption. This well-preserved veneer now forms one of the features of this church. Formerly inlaid work of this kind was largely used in the basilicas. The rotunda of St. Stephen, on the Cælian, was particularly noted for its coloured marble facings; formerly at Santa Sabina there were remains of similar handicraft upon many other parts of the interior.[2]

[1] On the popular form "Rufeno," see *Analecta rom.*, 1. *La più antica imagine della Crocifissione sulla porta di S. Sabina*, p. 454, note. On the origin of the pillars, cp. NIBBY, *Roma antica*, 2, 672. The inscriptions, *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., n. 364 ff., are from the church of Santa Sabina.

[2] For the veneer at S. Sabina, *e.g.* in the portico, see UGONIO, *Hist. delle Stationi di Roma*, fol. 8. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, *S. Sabina*.

Ill. 114.—Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline. [Present appearance of the interior. Fenerani's photograph.

260. This kind of decoration, so closely allied to mosaic, leads us to examine the real mosaics which embellish both basilicas.

Sta. Maria and Sta. Sabina were equally famous for the mosaics which perpetuated the memory of their foundation and the name of their founders. We can see that the custom, so prevalent in modern Rome, of erecting everywhere monumental inscriptions to preserve the memory of the builders or restorers of religious buildings, dates from early Christian times, and that this earlier custom was in turn but an imitation of classical antiquity. In Santa Maria, as we already know, Xystus III. placed the dedicatory inscription of his new church (*nova tecta*) within the entrance, with a picture of our Lady surrounded by martyrs. Similarly at Santa Sabina we may still see the great mosaic dedication within the church above the entrance, telling us of the erection of the basilica in the time of Pope Celestine by Peter, a presbyter from Illyricum. We translate the commencement:

> While Celestine held the supreme Apostolic office,
> And shone throughout the world as Primate,
> What thou seest here was founded by a priest of this city,
> Hailing from Illyricum, Peter by name, a name he well deserved.[1]

At present, of the accompanying mosaics there remain only the two matrons to the right and left, personifying the Church of the Circumcision and the Church of the Gentiles, as inscriptions beside them explain (see present work, vol. i., Ill. 26). Up to the seventeenth century, above them could be discerned the figures of the founders of the Roman Church, Peter and Paul. A hand from above was delivering to Peter the book of the Gospel-law, marking his mission as a new Moses to the chosen people; Paul, as Apostle to the Gentiles, was in the act of preaching. Further up were to be seen the symbols of the four Evangelists.[2]

Opposite the entrance, stands, in both basilicas, the triumphal arch of the apse, also covered with mosaics. We have already described the pictures at Santa Maria (see above, p. 34 ff.), and

[1] GRISAR, *Analecta rom.*, I, 146, with figure: CVLMEN APOSTOLICVM CVM CAELESTINVS HABERET | PRIMVS ET IN TOTO FVLGERET EPISCOPVS ORBE | HAEC QVAE MIRARIS FVNDAVIT PRESBYTER VRBIS | ILLYRICA DE GENTE PETRVS VIR NOMINE TANTO | DIGNVS, &c.

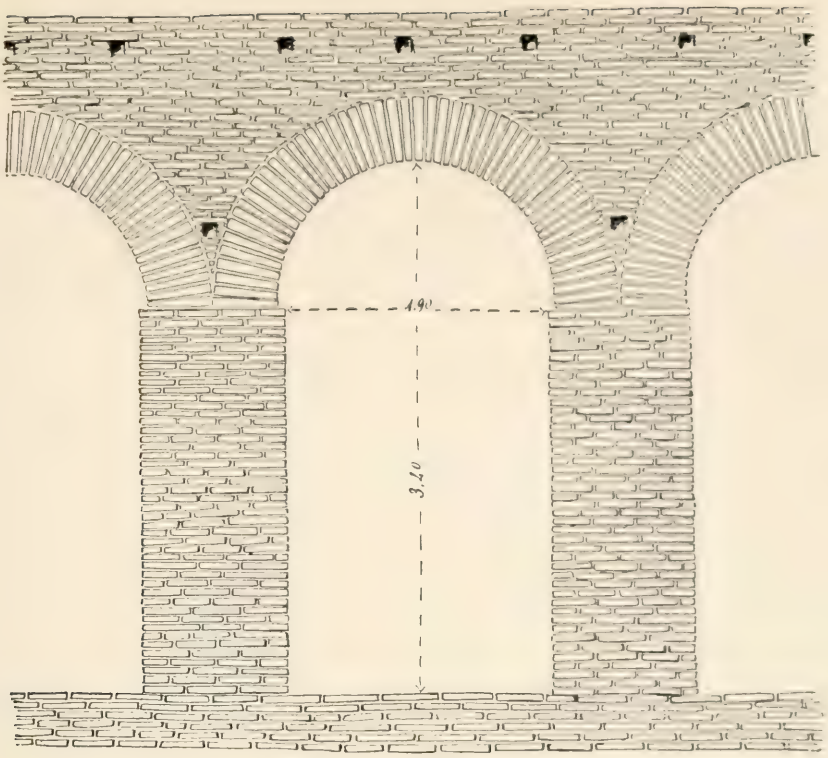
[2] ECLESIA EX CIRCVMCISIONE—ECLESIA EX GENTIBVS. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Musaici, S. Sabina*, where what is known of the lost portions is given after CIAMPINI, *Vet. Monim.*, p. 191 ff., Pl. 48.

shown how, in association with the Council of Ephesus, they glorify Mary as the Mother of God. At the top of the arch we again find the great inscription of Xystus III., still in fair preservation, as well as the Throne of God, and the Chief Apostles, between the symbols of the Evangelists (Ill. 105). The triumphal arch of Santa Sabina, down to the seventeenth century, was faced with mosaic work in ancient style. Busts in the shape of medallions (*imagines clypeatae*) were set all round the semicircle. In the centre was the head of our Lord with a cruciform nimbus,

Ill. 105.—A portion of the Mosaic of Xystus III. in Santa Maria Maggiore. Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, tav. 211.

and on each side a number of male busts without any aureole, finishing off at the ends with the usual figurative views of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The two last expressed in a different form the same idea as the two matrons spoken of above; they were symbols of Judaism and Paganism, both converted to Christianity. The subjects of the mosaics in the apse in either church are unknown, though probably at Santa Maria the arrangement and choice of the four principal saintly personages, and, along the lower border, the bright, classical river-scene with its

Note to Ill. 107.—De Rossi, *Musaici di Roma.* The larger coloured figures resembling mirrors on stands are repeated above each pillar. That shown to the right of our illustration (minus the cross) occurs, however, only twice on each side of the nave. All the rest have crosses, of which the tailed extremities are typical of the fifth-century Roman cross.



Ill. 106.—A Window at Santa Maria Maggiore.
(From the eastern side. After Mazzanti.)

Ill. 107.—Specimen of the Marble Veneer on the Arches in Santa Sabina. (Fifth century.)

fishes and genii and symbolic figures, are all reminiscences[1] of the original mosaic.[1]

At Santa Maria, moreover, we have the priceless mosaics on the walls of the nave. Under the windows are two series of mosaic scenes from the Old Testament, especially from the history of Moses and Josue. When complete, there were no less

Ill. 108.—The Crossing of the Red Sea.
From Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, tav. 219; Kraus, i. 417. From the mosaics of Pope Liberius in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore.

than sixty-three separate pictures (Ill. 108). They are mostly vigorous, and executed in the genuine ancient spirit of beauty and simplicity. As works of art they rank higher than the mosaics of the Triumphal Arch, a fact which leads us to suppose

[1] On S. Sabina, de Rossi, l.c. On S. Maria Maggiore, ibid., *Musaici, Mosaic at S. Maria Magg.* Müntz, *Revue archéol.*, 1879, II., 114 ff. Our Illustrations 107 and 108 are merely sketches. For finer specimens from S. Maria Maggiore, see above, Ills. 84 and 85. For the scene of the angels' meal, see Ill. 127. Some excellent pictures and some poor criticism will be found in J. P. Richter and A. C. Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art* (Rome, 1904).

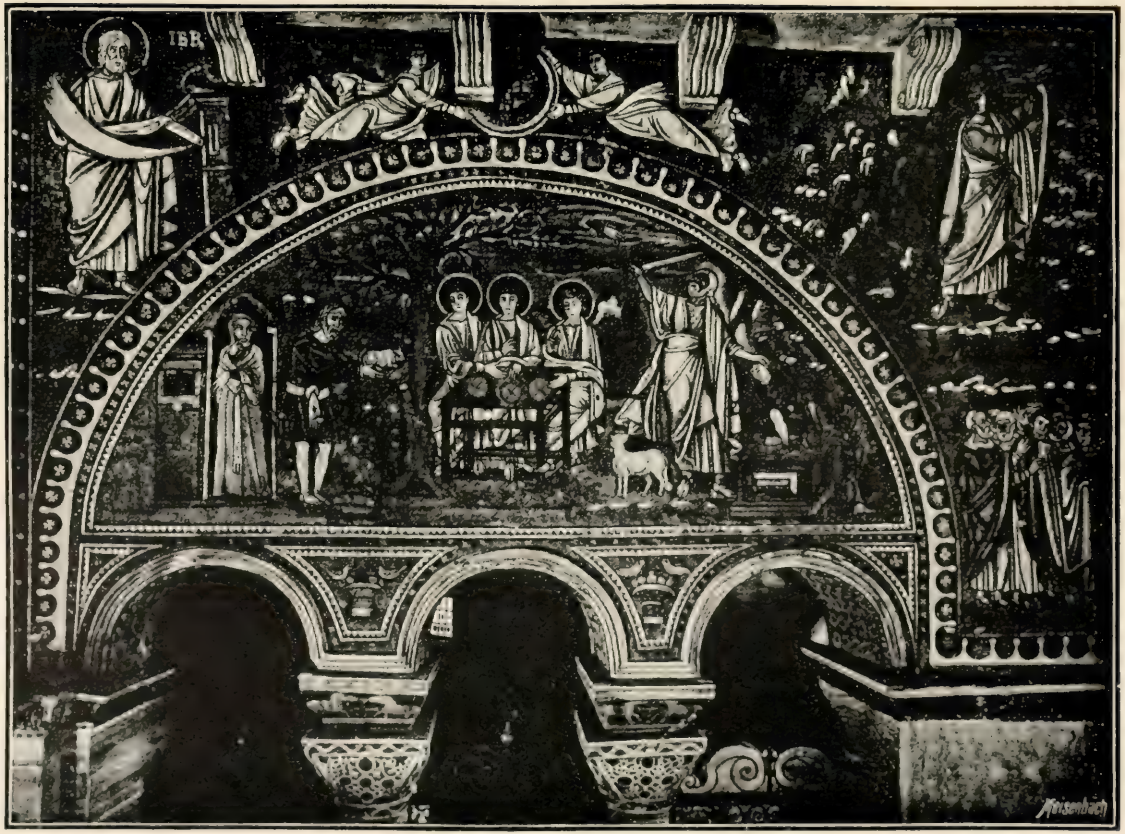
that they are a work of earlier times. This supposition is confirmed by various archæological observations. Thus, whereas on the Triumphal Arch the angels all have wings, as it was customary to portray them in the fifth century, the angel here shown appearing to Josue has none. The Lamb of God upon the frieze, which is of the same date as the other mosaics of the nave, is also without the attributes of the nimbus and cross, which were usual in the fifth century. In addition, thanks to closer investigation, it has been found that the masonry of the wall of the nave differs from that of the apse. It seems therefore clear that the mosaics with the Old Testament scenes, and indeed the whole nave excepting the apse, is of older date than the pontificate of Xystus III. We are thus driven back to the pontificate of Pope Liberius in the fourth century, for of this Pope the *Liber pontificalis* tells us that he "erected a basilica to his name" near the Macellum of Livia. It bore "his name," that is, it was called *Basilica Liberii* until it had been altered and restored by Xystus III., when it began to be called after our Lady.[1]

These ancient mosaics thus help us to elucidate the origin of the building. At the same time they form a sort of guide through the obscurity surrounding the origin of the favourite Bible pictures which subsequently came into such frequent use. This is, however, not yet the proper place to discuss them.

One circumstance only may here be alluded to, which so far has escaped notice. On the left side, looking from the entrance, the scenes from Abraham's history begin near the altar; the first two are, however, out of chronological order; in fact, next to the altar is a picture with the Sacrifice of Melchisedech; then comes the meal offered by Abraham to the three angels; after this we have the separation of Abraham and Lot, and then scenes from the life of Jacob. Clearly Melchisedech and the angels' meal

[1] GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, 4, 17, pointed out Liberius as the originator of the mosaics, and the same was done by DOBBERT in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 14 (1891), 179; cp. 8 (1885), 163, n. 3. DE ROSSI also inclined, with some hesitation, to Liberius (*Musaici, S. Maria Maggiore: Decorazione della navata*). KRAUS is more emphatic in his *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 418; cp. 414. On the other hand, SCHULTZE (*Archäol. der christl. Kunst*, p. 237) still considers them due to Xystus III., and also maintains that they are Greek work (cp. p. 233 ff.). The *Liber pont.*, on the buildings of Liberius, 1, 208, *Liberius*, n. 52: "*Hic fecit basilicam nomini suo.*"

Note to Ill. 109.—Cp. KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst.*, 1, p. 439. Abraham is coming forth from his house to meet his guests with a calf ready prepared on a dish. Sara is at the door seemingly pondering over the prediction which has been made to her (Gen. xviii.). Above, angels are holding a disc with Christ's monogram. To the left stands Jeremias, and, to the right, Isaias. Beneath him is a bevy of saints. Cp. P. BAUMSTARK, *Liturgia romana e liturgia dell' esarcato* (Rome, 1904).



Ill. 109.—The Angels' Meal and Abraham's Sacrifice. (Mosaic in San Vitale at Ravenna.)

have been brought near to the altar on account of their relation to the Holy Eucharist. In the Sacrifice of Melchisedech stress has clearly been laid on the figures of Bread and Wine, which, according to the Holy Scripture itself, were prototypes of the sacrifice offered upon Christian altars. The outstanding features of the scene are the basket with the loaves solemnly offered by Melchisedech, and the big chalice with wine, shaped like the early Christian two-handled chalice, and placed upon the ground. In the angels' meal the "morsel of bread" (Gen. xviii. 5) is likewise prominent, a jar of wine being also added.

A similar juxtaposition of these scenes in the neighbourhood of the altar, where they form a sort of pictorial Bible commentary on the Mass, may be observed at Ravenna in the sixth-century altar chapel of the rotunda of San Vitale. Here the angels' meal closely resembles the analogous scene on the Liberian mosaic in Rome. At Ravenna the addition of Abraham's sacrifice of his son Isaac excludes all doubt as to the typical meaning of the whole scene (Ill. 109).

In Santa Maria on the Esquiline, opposite the scenes just spoken of, again beginning at the altar, is a series of mosaics in the same style, with incidents from the life of Moses and Josue. The first has been lost, and replaced by a modern painting of the Annunciation. The second is from the early history of Moses. Unfortunately several of the exquisite mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore have now been covered wholly or partly by later pictures.

261. Its sister church of Santa Sabina, on the Aventine, seems never to have been equally rich in mosaics. On the other hand this church possesses to this day a unique artistic treasure in the famous wood-carving of its doors, of which we have already spoken. Both halves have exquisitely carved panels and borders, all done in cedar. These doors belong to the period of the basilica's foundation, and form one of the most precious monuments of early Christian art. The present writer has shown elsewhere that the character of all the scenes corresponds well with the time of Xystus III., though all may not be by the same hand. One of the most celebrated scenes upon the doors is that of Christ crucified with the thieves.[1]

[1] See my article *Kreuz und Kreuzigung auf der altchristl. Thüre von S. Sabina* in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 8 (1894), 1 ff., and in Italian in *Analecta rom.*, 1, 427 ff., with a

The Crucifixion may lay claim to be the oldest of all representations of the cruel death of Christ. The attitude of the three figures stretched upon their crosses seems to have been borrowed from the type of the Orante, with outstretched arms, which appears in the catacombs and on sarcophagi; indeed, the paintings of the catacombs and the Christian sculptures of the sarcophagi have unquestionably exercised an influence over the work on these doors.

The composition and the subjects also recall the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore. Both works are characteristic productions of Roman art in its decline, which had, however, nothing in common with the so-called Byzantine style.

In the choice of subjects represented upon the doors of S. Sabina we also find a point of contact with the Christian art of the Middle Ages. Upon these doors are displayed in considerable detail the corresponding pictures from the Old and New Testament, of the prophetic types and their fulfilment (*Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*), which were to be so popular in later art.[1]

We must, however, conclude our comparison between S. Sabina and S. Maria. The former, like the Esquiline Basilica of S. Maria, also had its own baptistery. It stood outside the main building, whereas that of S. Maria may have been in the transept, for there is reason to believe that such a transept existed here formerly, whereas S. Sabina certainly never had one. From the first both churches had their *schola cantorum* in the nave for the lower clergy, the ambones being attached to it. At a later date this arrangement was altered. The mediæval balustrade of the choir at Santa Sabina was a restoration of Eugenius II., as was proved by remains recently excavated from beneath the floor. The ambones of S. Maria were restored or replaced by Alexander III. Under Sixtus V. both churches were robbed of these and other time-honoured fittings, a fact which did not prevent Pompeo Ugonio from boasting, that, through Sixtus V., the church of S. Sabina had acquired again "that splendour and glory with

new photograph of the Crucifixion scene. Cp. KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 494, or a better reproduction in BERTHIER, *La porte de S. Sabine*, 1892. As regards the artistic character of these doors, see STUHLFAUTH, *Die altchristl. Elfenbeinplastik* (1896), pp. 203 to 209. See present work, vol. i., Ills. 77 and 78, for two characteristic scenes from these doors.

[1] GRISAR, *Kreuz und Kreuzig.*, p. 41 ff. On Roman "*imagines de concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*," see BEDE, *Vitae quinque SS. abbatum*, lib. 1 (*P.L.*, XCIV., 720).

which it had been endowed by his namesake and predecessor Xystus III."[1]

Ugonio was better justified in praising Sixtus V. for having dealt religiously with the ancient chapel of the crib at Santa Maria. This was an oratory near the high altar, most probably dating back to Xystus III., and representing the place where our Saviour was born in Bethlehem. It was for this reason that the church was called *Basilica S. Mariae ad praesepe* as early as the sixth century; it is only in the twelfth century that we hear of the original crib or manger being preserved in the church. The early oratory called "the crib" was removed under Sixtus V. from the place it had occupied during the Middle Ages; but it was transferred as it stood, *i.e.* with its walls and contents complete, to the new site below the altar, in the middle of the newly erected Sistine chapel. The old-fashioned mosaics of the "crib" were replaced by decoration of a more modern kind, and a subterranean passage was made around this remarkable shrine.[2]

No lapse of time and no restorations were able to efface traces of the early narthex from the pillars of the two basilicas of S. Maria and S. Sabina. The curtains which on great occasions were hung between the pillars, and the lamps and votive offerings have left their marks upon these pillars to this day.

The indications pointing to the former narthex in S. Sabina and S. Maria and several other early basilicas of Rome are the deep holes excavated at a certain height in a pair of opposite pillars near the commencement of the nave. In these holes, now often filled up, fitted the upper bar of the lattice-work which crossed the nave and formed the narthex. The holes are everywhere at an equal height of about 13 feet and always among the first pillars; in S. Sabina they are on the third pair, and in S. Maria on the second. No other explanation can be offered for these borings.[3]

[1] *Stationi*, fol. 10, v. Ibid., fol. 9, v., on the choir-screens of Eugenius II., his *Pergula* in front of the altar, and his inscription upon the bronze-gates of the latter. Mazzanti found the remains of the decorations, now to be seen on the left wall. See his report, with corresponding illustrations, in the *Archivio stor. dell' arte*, 1896, p. 165 ff., or my extracts from it in the *Civiltà catt.*, 1896, IV., 474 ff. On the pulpit of Alexander III. in S. Maria Maggiore, see UGONIO, fol. 67. The work of PAULUS DE ANGELIS, *Basilica S. Mariae Maioris descriptio* (1621), unluckily does not say much about the fate of the early Christian and mediæval fittings of the Basilica.

[2] UGONIO, *Stationi*, fol. 69, v. On the removal under Sixtus V., see CARLO FONTANA, *Della traslazione dell' obelisco*, lib. 1, pp. 40, 49. *Civiltà catt.*, 1895, IV., 473 ff.

[3] CROSTAROSA, *Le basiliche cristiane*, especially p. 59.

262. Whereas in the East the narthex for the accommodation of catechumens and penitents was placed outside the basilica, in front of the doors, in Rome these categories of the faithful were allowed to worship in closer conjunction with the other Christians. Though not indeed admitted to the congregation, they could still hear the sermon and the lessons delivered from the ambo, whilst the wide-meshed lattice served sufficiently as a separation. Of this old arrangement, which died out about the seventh century, traces are still found in several basilicas; for instance, at San Pietro in Vincoli, at San Crisogono and at Santa Maria in Trastevere.[1]

It is noteworthy that these cavities in the pillars are not found in the more recent basilicas. For instance, there are none in the basilicas of S. Clemente (upper church) or of the Santi Quattro Coronati, both founded by Paschal II., nor in the basilicas of Santa Prassede or of S. Maria in Domnica, founded or restored by Paschal I. In some of the earlier churches a row of pillars across the nave near the entrance served the purpose of separating the narthex. This may be seen in the lower church of S. Clemente and the two memorial basilicas founded by Constantine, that of St. Agnes on the *Via Nomentana* and of St. Lawrence on the *Via Tiburtina*, over which upper churches were afterwards erected. The other holes in the pillars were for iron bars or pegs, on which various articles were hung. These holes are usually lower, but each invariably corresponds with one on the opposite side of the nave. They mark the place whence hangings and lamps were suspended, or, when they are close to the altar, they may show where the barriers of the presbyterium were inserted; finally, where they are found in the arches or architrave of the nave they served to hold the rods on which lamps or votive offerings or festal drapery were hung. Here there is abundant room for hypothesis.[2]

The use of such curtains or tapestries was general in the early basilicas, and, indeed, dated from classic times. To this day it is still a custom of the Roman churches to deck themselves out with hangings, though less profusion and also less artistic

[1] Cp. CROSTAROSA, ibid., from whom we borrow most of our data. At the end of his work the author gives a plate with the measurements.

[2] Crostarosa is, we think, too absolute in maintaining that these holes served only for curtains separating males from females. On the division of the interior for the two sexes, see above, p. 99 f.

Ill. 110.—Bas-relief showing curtained Basilicas, the Miracle of the Spring and the Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood.

(From a sarcophagus at the Lateran. Parker's photograph.)

taste is shown to-day than of old. Curtains are mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis* in the lives of Hormisdas, Gregory the Great, Benedict II., and the following Popes.[1] They are often alluded to in connection with the decoration of altars, as they there served to close the four open sides of the pillared tabernacle standing round the altar. In Rome the rods and rings for such curtains are still to be seen on some of these tabernacles. Enormous curtains were hung at the terminal arches of the aisles and similar ones at the doors of the opposite end (Ill. 110). Even the walls may have been draped, for we sometimes find imitation curtains in mosaic.[2]

Those between the pillars were doubtless smaller. The gifts of tapestry bestowed by Hadrian I., Leo III., and Paschal I. upon the church of S. Maria Maggiore were for hanging between the pillars. The *Liber pontificalis* has carefully recorded the statements respecting these from the ancient register of Papal gifts. It will repay us to look a little more closely at this report with its curious terms. The spaces between the pillars of the nave at Sta. Maria to be adorned with hangings were no fewer than 42 in number, as we may verify to this day. Hadrian I. accordingly gave 42 *vela* made of *pallia quadrapola.* The presents of Paschal I. consisted in 14 *vela de fundato,* 14 *de quadrapulo,* and 14 *de imizilo,* which again made exactly 42. Finally, the third gift, that of Leo III., comprised white *vela* of pure silk "for the spaces between the great pillars, right and left," again amounting to 42. Among them were 11 *vela rosata,* perhaps so named because they were ornamented with a design in roses.[3]

Many other notices in the *Liber pontificalis* of gifts of hangings to churches can likewise have their accuracy tested. Hadrian I. and Gregory IV. also bestowed hangings upon the basilicas of

[1] See the passages quoted in DE WAAL, *Figürliche Darstellungen auf Teppichen und Vorhängen in röm. Kirchen,* in the *Röm. Quartalschr.,* 2 (1888), 313 ff. In a mosaic at the Ravenna church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, a palace is shown hung with rich curtains. On the *vela alexandrina* in antiquity, see MARUCCHI, *Bull. archeol. crist.,* 1892, p. 104; and DE ROSSI, *Bull. archeol. crist.,* 1871, p. 54. For representatives of an Egyptian velum belonging to a church in the fifth or sixth century slightly restored, see SWOBODA, *Röm. Quartalschr.,* 6 (1892), 95 ff., 105, Pl. 6; and KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst,* 1, 532.

[2] HOLTZINGER, pp. 64, 65, 194; BEISSEL, *Gestickte und gewebte Vorhänge der röm. Kirchen,* in the *Zeitschr. für christl. Kunst,* 7 (1894), 358 ff. There were mosaics with representations of curtains at Sant' Andrea Catabarbara in Rome. HOLTZINGER, Fig. 194.

[3] *Liber pont.,* 1, 500, *Hadrian. I.,* n. 323; 2, 61, *Paschalis I.,* n. 449; 2, 14, *Leo III.,* n. 391.

St. Lawrence (the Greater), St. Paul, and St. Mark, in each case the number being identical with the intercolumnar spaces in these churches. The first, St. Lawrence's, received from Hadrian I. 15 *vela de stauracin seu quadrapolis* and 15 of linen stuff; here there were altogether 30 spaces, if we include those at the entrance. The second received 40 *vela fundata* from Gregory IV.; here there were 42 arches, but two were otherwise filled. The third received from the same Pope, 26 *vela de fundato* and 26 of linen; this church then reckoned 26 intercolumnar spaces, which in this case have, however, not been preserved intact.[1]

From such data we may see what care and expense was bestowed on the decoration of the basilicas. We can thus form some idea of the pride and pleasure with which a Christian Roman of the fifth century—the period from which dates the splendour of S. Maria and S. Sabina—would compare his triumphant basilicas with the dark, decaying temples of his former Pagan persecutors. Artists even introduced these basilicas on the sculptures of the sarcophagi, as if to console the departed, or perhaps to typify the heavenly abodes of praise (Ill. 110).

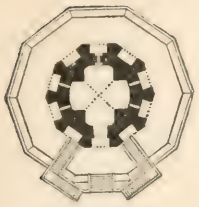
Rotundas and allied Ecclesiastical Edifices

263. We have already stated that edifices on the central plan, particularly those of circular form, in Rome and in the West generally, were almost exclusively reserved for two purposes. They served as baptisteries, or as memorial chapels partaking more of the character of mausoleums than of churches (Ill. 111). In neither case were they used for the liturgy or as places of assembly.

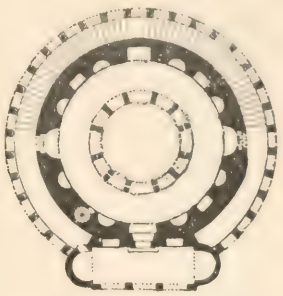
The most distinguished circular baptistery in Rome, that of the Lateran, we have already described. Its reputation as Constantine's own led to many imitations. In point of fact, Constantine himself had not been baptized there, but was merely its builder. In the sixth century, however, the legend of Constantine's baptism gave added veneration to this building, which in the meantime had been well restored by Xystus III.

[1] *Liber pont.*, 1, 505, *Hadrian. I.*, n. 334, where, however, DUCHESNE reads LXV. instead of XV.; 2, 79, *Gregor. IV.*, n. 472; 2, 75, ib., n. 462. Cp. CROSTAROSA, l.c., p. 69 ff. Sarti had already noticed the coincidence of the numbers in the Basilica of St. Paul. See DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 332, n. 7.

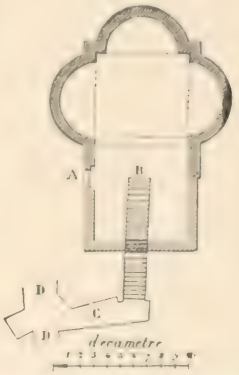
Only one other ancient rotunda intended for conferring baptism yet exists in Rome, this being the handsome and well-preserved church near Santa Agnese, on the *Via Nomentana*, known as Santa Costanza. Here the excavations in 1870 and



THEODORIC'S TOMB AT RAVENNA.
From DEHIO & BEZOLD, *Kirchl. Baukunst des Abendl.*, Pl. 1.



THE CONSTANTINIAN FAMILY MAUSOLEUM (Santa Costanza, near S. Agnese).
From KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst.*, i. 352, 363.



FUNERARY CELLA ABOVE THE CATACOMB OF CALLISTUS.

Ill. 111.—PLANS OF CENTRALISED CHURCH-BUILDINGS.

1888 showed clear traces of the arrangements peculiar to baptisteries; *i.e.* the great central basin into which the person about to be baptized descended. Below, remains were even identified as the stove which in early Christian times was used to warm the baptismal water.[1]

This Baptistery of Santa Costanza, of which both the style and decoration belong to the fourth century, was nevertheless not originally built to serve as a baptistery. It came to be used for the latter purpose only at a later date, and, even then, perhaps only occasionally. The original purpose of the building would place it in the second category of rotundas, for it was built in 354 by Gallus as a mausoleum for his wife Constantina, Constantine's daughter. In the fifteen symmetrical niches of its inner wall once stood a splendid row of sarcophagi enclosing their dead, and alternating with artistic marble candelabra of classical design and statues of the Imperial family. Among the

[1] Ground plan in DEHIO (see above), Pl. 8, Nos. 1–2. HOLTZINGER, *Die altchristl. Architektur*, p. 246; SCHULTZE, *Archäologie der altchristl. Kunst*, p. 130; KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 353. On the history of the origin of the Rotunda of S. Costanza and the results of the excavations, cp. GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 204, and DE ROSSI, *Musaici, S. Costanza.* DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 196 ff. DEHIO (p. 34) compares the Mausoleum of S. Costanza with the Rotunda of S. Maria Maggiore at Nocera, a Baptistery, and the Rotunda at Brescia, the latter belonging apparently to the year 612.

sarcophagi, the famous porphyry so-called Tomb of Constantia, with its bas-reliefs of vintage scenes, has been preserved to us. Originally standing in the centre of the mausoleum, it was removed to the niche at the back; it is now in the Vatican Museum. We also still possess a few splendid marble candlesticks, of which the style is remarkably pure (Ill. 112).[1]

Classical works were evidently purloined to decorate the Imperial mortuary church, just as they had been for the arch of Constantine near the Coliseum. The whole church is, moreover, permeated by a classical atmosphere. A double line of graceful granite columns, bearing lofty imposts, form a circle inside, encircled by an arched gallery (Ill. 111). The mosaics on the vault of the latter are eloquent of the grandeur and peculiar character of the Constantinian era, of which the building and its decoration are creations. Amidst a few scarcely perceptible Christian symbols, they include so many skilfully executed profane scenes—for instance, of the gathering and bringing home of the grapes, the treading of the winepress, &c.—that the Christian rotunda, after the Middle Ages were past, had the ill-deserved fate of being accounted an ancient Temple of Bacchus. It figures in many sketch-books of Renaissance architects and designers as a typical heathen temple.[2]

Almost contemporary with the foundation of the building—*i.e.* still belonging to the fourth century—are the two mosaics in each concha of the two niches facing one another on the right hand and left. One represents the giving of the Law to Moses, and the other the giving of the Law to Peter. It is only recently that closer study led to the recognition of the real antiquity of these much touched-up works, and of the relation in which they stand to each other. Together they express the idea that God is the Lawgiver both of the Old and of the New Covenant. What Moses was in the Old Covenant, that Peter, by Divine decree, has become in the New. As both mosaics have a certain baptismal meaning, they may have been added when the mausoleum became a baptistery. The cupola of the rotunda, which

[1] The sarcophagus of Constantia is shown in GARRUCCI, Pl. 305. Two of the candelabra are at the Vatican Museum, the others are at S. Agnese. Our Ill. 112 is from a photograph by Tenerani.

[2] The mosaics, still preserved, are given in DE ROSSI, *Musaici, S. Costanza*, and in GARRUCCI, Pl. 205 ff.; cp. KRAUS, 1, 406. Judging by the names scratched on the walls at the entrance, many artists of note from the sixteenth century to our day made a pilgrimage to this "Temple of Bacchus."

Ill. 112.—Candlestick from the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza near S. Agnese.

surmounts the circle of columns, was formerly also decorated with mosaics of the time of Constantine. This is known from a sketch-book at the Escurial. They consisted of a wealth of pictures, mostly profane, but full of life and variety, and classically accurate to nature, which covered the whole interior of the gorgeous, well-lit vault (Ill. 113). Even the floor of the rotunda glittered with rich mosaic. In the principal niche a portion of the mosaic decorating the upper part has been preserved, with traces of

Ill. 113.—Scenes from the Mosaic of the Cupola in Santa Costanza.
From an old drawing at the Escurial.

a Constantinian monogram of Christ upon a starry sky. In this case, as elsewhere, a pagan accompaniment has been Christianised.[1]

264. Two other Christian mausoleums of circular shape were those which stood in Nero's Circus on the left side of old St. Peter's. These buildings, which have now disappeared, were originally intended to receive the Imperial family of Theodosius,

[1] Cp. F. Jubaru, *La decorazione bacchica del mausoleo crist. di S. Costanza*, *L'Arte*, 7, 1904; Grisar, *Heidn. und christl. Formen in der konstantinischen Kunst zu S. Costanza*, *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 29, 1905, p. 566 ff. Our Ill. 113 is from Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 204. Cp. Kraus, *Gesch. der chr. Kunst*, 1, 405.

but at an early date in the Middle Ages were appropriated by the Church for other uses.[1]

Outside Rome, on the *Via Labicana*, we may still see the vast ruins of the mausoleum of Constantine's mother, St. Helena, called in popular language Torre Pignattara. The splendid porphyry sarcophagus ornamented with equestrian scenes, and known as the Tomb of Helena, now at the Vatican Museum, is said to have been found here.[2]

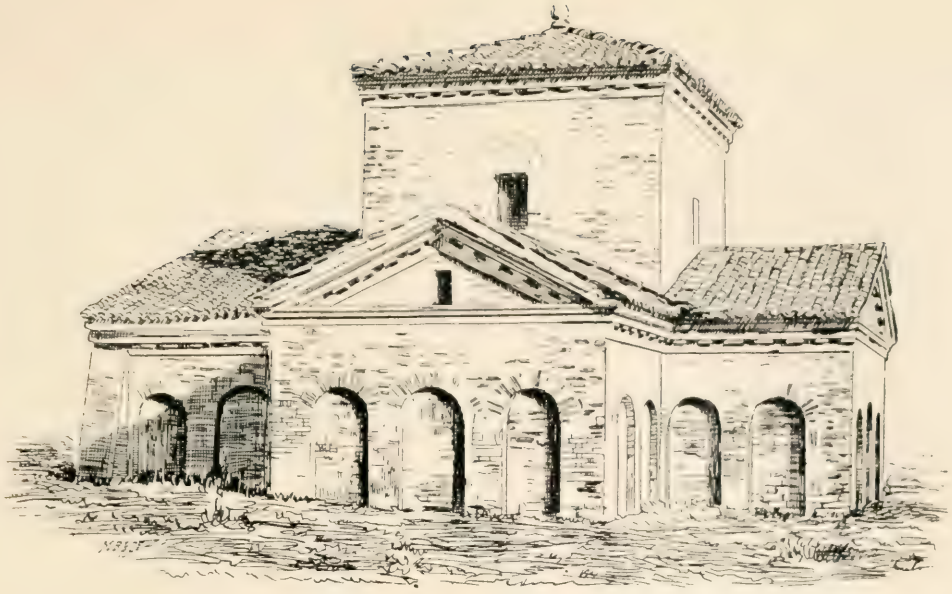
If we turn our attention from Rome to the other cities of Italy, we shall there find other well-preserved early Christian rotundas, some being baptisteries and others mausoleums. The most ancient baptistery of Naples, that near the duomo, is of this shape. The mosaics of the cupola which have recently been brought to light belong to the fourth century, and are on the same artistic level as the decorations on the cupola of S. Costanza in Rome. At Ravenna typical forms exist of both kinds of buildings, some of the Gothic and others of the Byzantine period. In the city itself two baptisteries attract special notice—that of the Catholics, San Giovanni in Fonte, and that of the Arians, Santa Maria in Cosmedin (Ill. 116–17, *a*, *c*). Outside the city stands Theodoric's massive two-storied circular mausoleum. Its vast structure displays the strength of the Goths as clearly as its external decoration shows their sense of form and harmony (Ill. 111).[3] The beautiful mausoleum of the Empress Galla Placidia is in the form of a cross (Ills. 114 and 115).

The circular form of both the baptisteries and mausoleums is a result of pre-existing Pagan custom. The baptisteries were imitations of the so-called nymphæa, whilst it is even more evident that the mortuary rotundas grew out of the classical architecture of heathen mausoleums. The mausoleum of Constantina near the Basilica of S. Agnese, and that of the Imperial descendants

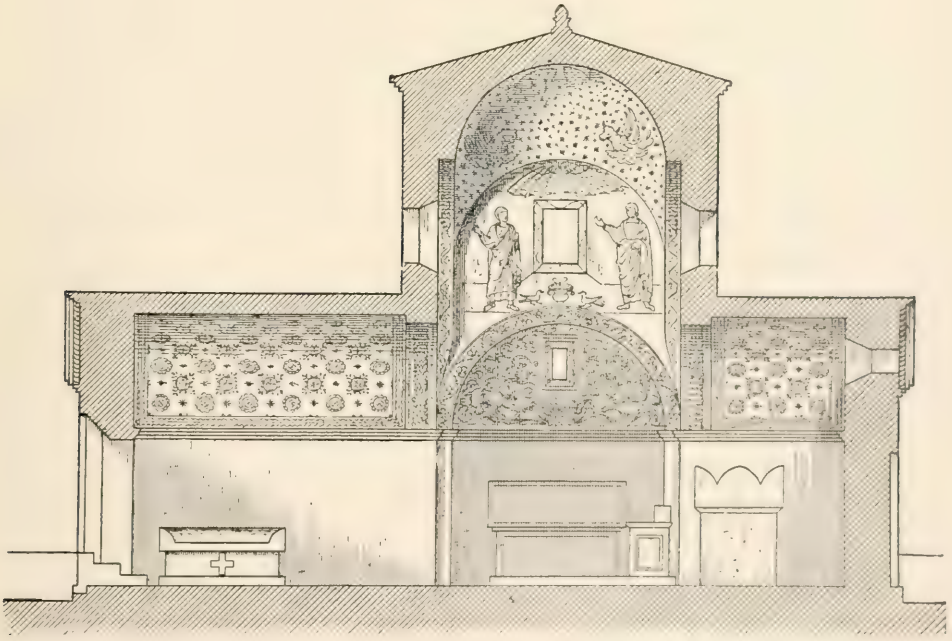
[1] See present work, vol. i., p. 274. The ground plans are from those of Alfarano, previously cited (vol. i., p. 277, note). Cp. ROHAULT DE FLEURY in *Nuovo Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1896, p. 41 ff.: *S. André au Vatican*, with plate.

[2] Ground plan in BOSIO, p. 323. For the sarcophagus of Helena, see BOTTARI, 3, Pl. 196.

[3] For Naples, see GARRUCCI, Pl. 269. Ravenna, S. Giovanni in Fonte, ground plan in DEHIO, Pl. 3, No. 7; HOLTZINGER, p. 213; SCHULTZE, p. 93. S. Maria in Cosmedin at Ravenna, DEHIO, Pl. I., No. 7; HOLTZINGER, p. 213. For the Mausoleum of Theodoric, see LÜBKE, *Kunstgesch.*, 10 ed., p. 267; HOLTZINGER, p. 249. The Rotunda of S. Maria della Torre at Tivoli is a classical nymphæum in almost perfect preservation, used as an oratory during the Middle Ages. Dehio wrongly speaks of it as a mausoleum (p. 24), adding that it is ascribed to the fourth century by some, to the seventh by others.

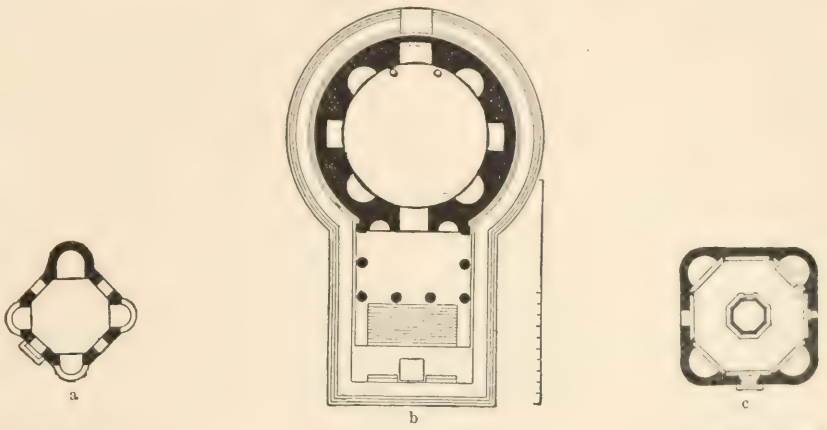


Ill. 114.—Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna.
Exterior (Dartein, *Architecture lombarde*, p. 18).



Ill. 115.—Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna.
Section (Essenwein, *Ausgänge der klass. Baukunst. Hdb. der Archit.* ii. 3).

of Theodosius near St. Peter's, were modelled on the numerous Pagan circular sepulchral monuments, great and small, which surrounded the city. To these belong the still existing ruins of the Torre de' Schiavi in Gordian's Villa, at the third milestone on the *Via Praenestina* (Ill. 116, *b*). We are also still able to admire the Pagan circular mausoleum of a member of the Cotta family, the so-called Casale Rotondo, at the sixth milestone on the *Via Appia*. A whole farm with olive-gardens and barns complete is now picturesquely established upon its platform. The well-known circular tomb of Cæcilia Metella, nearer to Rome and



ARIAN BAPTISTERY AT RAVENNA. TORRE DE' SCHIAVI, NEAR ROME. S. GIOVANNI IN FONTE AT RAVENNA.

Ill. 116, 117.—GROUND PLANS OF CENTRALISED BUILDINGS.
From DEHIO AND BEZOLD, *Die kirchl. Baukunst des Abendl.*, Pl. 1, 2.

close to the Basilica of S. Sebastiano, was on an equally grand scale. During the Middle Ages it was a stronghold of the Gaetani. The lofty, ancient battlements of the ruin are visible far over the Campagna. The Emperor Hadrian's mausoleum, now the Castle of Sant' Angelo, reared its mountain-like round walls on the right side of the Tiber, whilst on the left bank the mausoleum of Augustus, enclosed within the city by the Aurelian Wall, was a scarcely less colossal building of the same shape. Finally, we may instance the ruins of a large heathen circular mausoleum discovered in the early eighties in front of the Salarian Gate; this is the mausoleum of the Lucilian family, bearing inscriptions relating to Lucilia Polla and her brother Marcus Lucilius Paetus. Christians had taken possession of this building

in the fourth century, for a Christian burial-place was found duly established in its interior.[1]

265. Whilst in Rome church buildings of central design were either baptisteries or sepulchral monuments, at Ravenna Byzantine influence was responsible for a circular structure destined for neither one nor the other purpose, but to serve, like the basilicas, for public worship. The church of **San Vitale** in Ravenna, which will often be mentioned in the course of this history, is a perfectly thought-out circular building such as are so frequent and popular in the East. It is a miniature Western rival of the church of St. Sophia, built at Constantinople by the Emperor Justinian. If the latter by its combination of unity and massiveness is the triumph of the Byzantine circular style, the same style on Italian soil breathes more grace in San Vitale. The plan of this celebrated Ravenna church is octagonal, with an inside gallery resting upon pillars and columns. Above the main arches the octagon becomes circular and forms a foundation for the cupola. The rich structure displays a clerestory with pillars and windows, and the cupola is also pierced by a circular row of lights. A profusion of marble decorations, the delicate Greek capitals and the mosaics of the apse built on to the octagon, have made of this church a genuine treasure of art. It was completed in 547, when it took its place among the venerable churches of that same city, which still represent so impressively the traditional basilican style of early Christian times.[2]

266. So much discussion has been aroused by the circular church of **S. Stefano Rotondo** in Rome that it has come to be called the sphinx on the Cælian. It does not, at first sight, seem to fit in with the theory that all rotundas in Rome were either baptisteries or mausoleums, for, so far as we can tell, it never was either. The too brief notice in the *Liber pontificalis* mentions merely that Pope Simplicius "consecrated" this church.[3]

Recent investigations have, however, established that this church of such unusual shape, with its double concentric arcade, was not originally a building intended for Christian worship, but, as had been even previously suspected, a secular structure dating

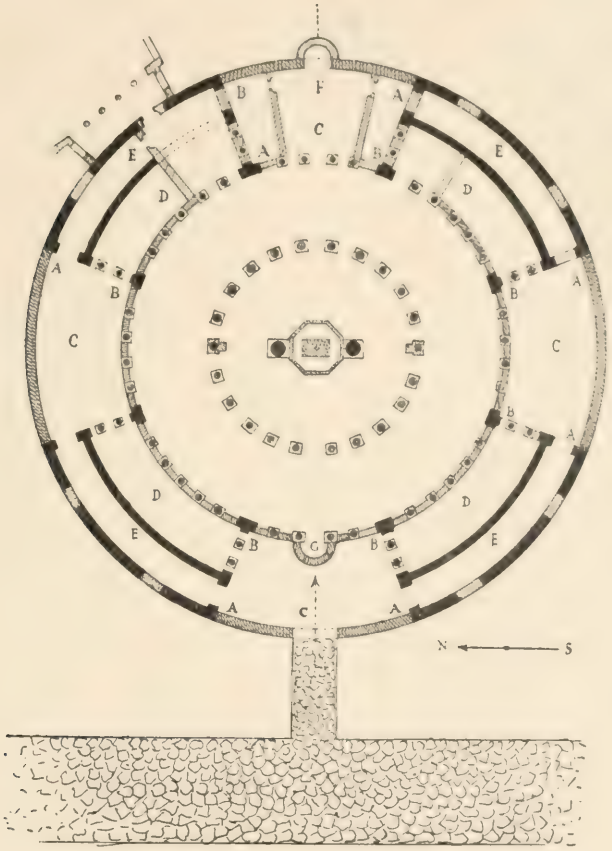
[1] Cp. GATTI, *Bullett. arch. com.*, 1886, p. 226 ff.

[2] Ground plan in DEHIO, Pl. 4, No. 2; HOLTZINGER, p. 99; SCHULTZE, p. 94; KRAUS, I, 358.

[3] *Liber pont.*, I, 249, n. 72: "*Hic dedicavit basilicam sancti Stephani in Celio monte.*"

from classic times; that it was, in fact, the *Macellum Magnum* of the second city region.[1]

The great building served in heathen days as the market of the Cælian. It is evident, at first glance, that the fine rotunda,

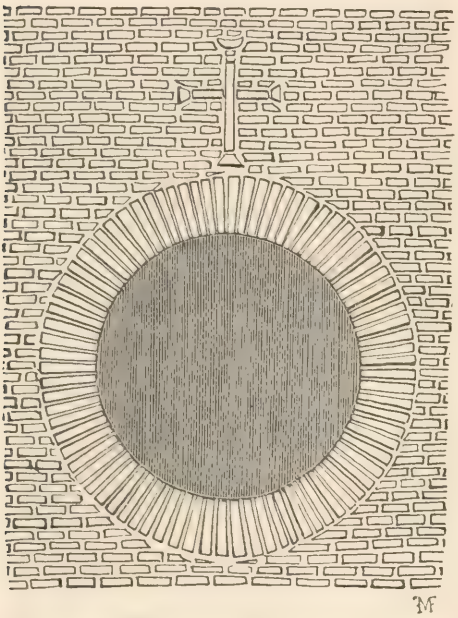


Ill. 118.—S. Stefano Rotondo on the Cælian.
Formerly the Macellum Magnum. Plan of the original building.

with its once partially open porticoes, was well suited for this purpose (Ill. 118). The entrance was then on the city side and

[1] Ground plan in Dehio, Pl. 2, No. 1; Holtzinger, p. 97; Kraus, I. 353; and better in Lanciani, *L' Itinerario di Einsiedeln* (*Monumenti antichi dell' accad. reale dei Lincei*, I), Pl. 2. Cp. with this Lanciani's commentary, p. 71 ff. Our illustration (Ill. 118) is after Lanciani, with the ancient adjoining street added. E, the present entrance, with its later colonnade; C, the original entrance. The latter continued to serve its purpose even after the translation to this church of SS. Primus and Felicianus and the erection at the opposite end of the little apse in which the high altar now stands. No altar seems to have existed formerly in the middle. On our plan the ancient walls and pillars are shown in black.

not, as now, at the back of the building. It was entered from the ancient street, which passed by the present church of S. Maria in Domnica. Towards the end of the fourth century, perhaps under Gratian, the rotunda must have been repaired and restored. Certain striking irregularities in the pillars, bases, and capitals can only be ascribed to some reconstruction of this kind. We have other examples during Gratian's time of similar restorations hastily effected without taste or judgment. The masonry and various decorative features show the period of the alterations. The building seems, however, to have continued to serve as a market until the following century, when it fell a victim to some great catastrophe. After that it was not again restored for secular purposes, but was made over by the Government to Pope Simplicius, at whose hands it was altered into a church. A market hall could well be dispensed with now in the scarcely inhabited region of the Cælian.



Ill. 119.—A Window in S. Stefano Rotondo surmounted by a Cross in Bricks.

The catastrophe which brought about the ruin of this building at some period before the pontificate of Simplicius was probably the same which, according to historical testimony, destroyed the neighbouring mansion of the Valerii, namely, the burning of the Cælian during Alaric's sack of Rome.[1]

Simplicius rebuilt the edifice and dedicated it to the honour of the first martyr and deacon, St. Stephen of Jerusalem (Ill. 120). He must at that time have received from Palestine some relics of this saint, so much venerated in the early Church. The cross upon the capitals of certain columns in the interior, as well as the brick crosses found outside above some of the windows

[1] See vol. i., p. 62. Lanciani, l.c.

Ill. 120.—S. Stefano Rotondo on the Caelian. (Interior. Photographed by C. Tenerani.)

(at F and B on Ill. 118), might date from this restoration (Ill. 119).[1]

Among the opinions ventured on concerning the origin of S. Stefano Rotondo before the matter had been settled by the archæological details just given, was the attractive suggestion that the church had, even originally, been built as a rotunda in imitation of the circular memorial church of St. Stephen outside the gates of Jerusalem. This theory can now indeed no longer be held, for the excavation of St. Stephen's at Jerusalem has shown it to be a basilica with three aisles, and not a rotunda. This much may, however, be said: it is not improbable that the Roman rotunda was dedicated to St. Stephen that Rome might have a monument to match the far-famed shrine in Palestine. The Empress Eudocia had built the church in the Holy Land at immense expense, intending it to serve as her own sepulchral monument. At the time of Pope Simplicius her grand-daughter Placidia was the spouse of Olybrius, one of the phantom emperors. Hence it seems not unlikely that Placidia, on account of the attachment of her family to the first martyr, may have obtained for Pope Simplicius the Cælian market-place, with the proviso that he should make of it a monument to St. Stephen.

If such was indeed the case, then this remarkable building would in a sense bear the stamp of a mausoleum or memorial church. If, however, no such connection existed, then the unusual form of this early Christian church must be accounted for by the fact of its having been originally built for a secular purpose and by the unwillingness or inability of its transformers to alter the design of the edifice.

Roman Churches Established in Ancient Halls

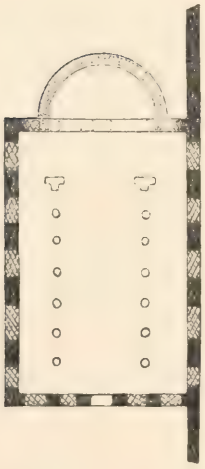
267. Before it became customary to adapt heathen temples for Christian ritual there were already various places of worship in Rome, established in the vast rectangular halls of secular buildings. For the history of ritual and of architecture such churches deserve more attention than they have hitherto received; they furnish, indeed, one of the most interesting chapters in the history

[1] From a drawing by Mazzanti, showing the cross discovered by the present writer. The barriers in the church are modern. At our request the absurd wooden "tabernacle" has been withdrawn from the middle of the building.

of the outward transformation of Rome. These halls belonging to the period before Constantine, when they had once been transformed into churches, continued to be used for worship as though they had been basilicas. Some still exist as venerable churches, and, in some instances, very little was known of their origin until recent years.

Ill. 121.—Plan of Sta. Balbina.

These ancient halls are: first, Sta. Balbina on the Aventine, one of the oldest titular churches of Rome, a building which may perhaps have belonged formerly to the palace of the Fabii which stood there (Ill. 121); then the church of S. Adriano on the Forum, which was adapted from the hall of the Comitium of the Senate; thirdly, St. Martina *ad Forum*, the former *Secretarium Senatus*, like the previous transformed into a church by Pope Honorius I.; fourthly, SS. Cosmas and Damian, also on the Forum and established, as our readers know, in the ancient rectangular hall where the city archives were preserved; fifthly, the church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme (Ill. 122), which occupies a vast hall of the ancient Sessorian Palace; sixthly, the lost church of St. Andrew Catabarbara. Finally, there was the oratory of St. Silvia, served by the Greek monks of St. Saba, and established in a hall built in the last days of the Empire.[1]



Ill. 122.—Plan of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme.

The transformation of these halls into churches was effected very simply by adding a semicircular apse to the back wall; so far as was necessary for this purpose the wall was in each case removed. This can be perceived to this day by an attentive observer, from the appearance of the wall at the back of the churches of Sta. Croce and Sta. Balbina. It is the same at Sant' Adriano. On the other hand, in SS. Cosma e Damiane a partition-wall was put up in the middle of the hall and an apse inserted in this.[2]

[1] Plans of the first five churches in Lanciani, *L' Itinerario di Einsiedeln*, Pl. 2. On St. Silvia, see *Civ. catt.*, 1905, 3, p. 210 ff.

[2] On the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, see vol. i., p. 232 ff., and Ills. 52, 53, 54.

In addition, in the case of two of these halls of exceptional width, pillars were brought into use to form a nave and two side aisles. By this means these halls were made to resemble basilicas. This happened in both Sant' Adriano and Sta. Croce. In the latter the erection of the twelve massive granite pillars, which stood in the interior, must date from the first century after the establishment of the church under Constantine. Unfortunately, during a recent "restoration," these pillars were partly enclosed in masonry and became mere pilasters. But neither the older pillars nor the present pilasters correspond with the original plan of the hall, the wide span of its apse showing that they should be absent. This is the reason why such pillars were lacking when the hall first began to do duty as a church.[1]

An ancient German building—viz. the earliest portion of the Cathedral of Treves—offers an analogy with these Roman halls altered into churches. The eastern portion of this cathedral has preserved almost perfectly the shape of an ancient hall. Of course a great many other instances might be cited in Italy, and especially in the vicinity of Rome. The Cathedral of Palestrina, to give but one example, is the ancient Forum Hall of the town, adapted to religious uses. Remains of the ancient sundial of the Forum still exist on its front.[2]

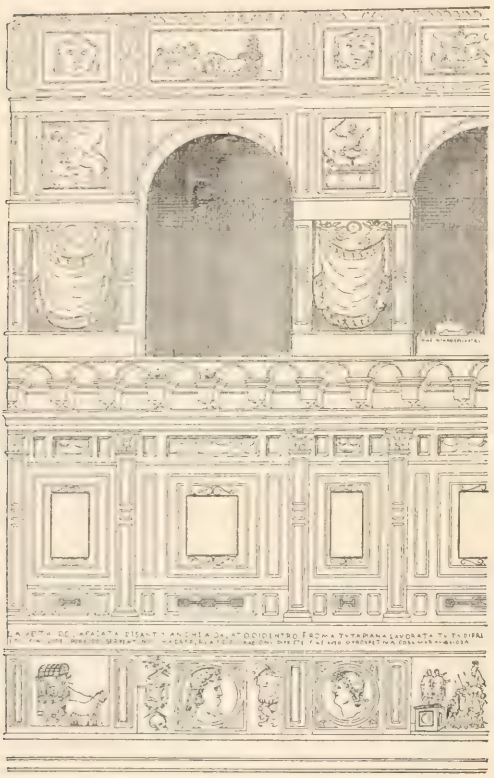
268. Among the above-mentioned early Christian hall-churches of Rome, the most important for the history of civilisation was the hall of St. Andrew Catabarbara, also known as **Catabarbara Patricia,** which has now disappeared from the Esquiline. It was established during the time of Pope Simplicius, probably under Ricimer, between 471–483, in the splendid aula of Junius Bassus, consul in 317. The founder of this church was the Gothic army-captain Flavius Valila, sometimes known as Theodovius, who in the eyes of the Romans was a barbarian. The singular designation of Catabarbara Patricia must have some connection with this foreigner, who was also a Roman patrician. The name Catabarbara was a barbarous mixture of Greek and Latin invented during the Byzantine period.[3]

[1] LANCIANI, l.c., p. 492, with the measurements of the Sessorianum.

[2] For Treves, see DEHIO, p. 46 and Pl. 12, figs. 9 and 12. WILLEMS, *La sainte robe* (1891), p. 319 ff.: *La partie romaine de la cathédrale de Trèves*, with plans. Palestrina: MARUCCHI, *Guida archeologica di Preneste* (1885), pp. 55, 64, 161. BLONDEL in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 2 (1882), 176 f.

[3] In the *Liber pont.*, 1, 249, *Simplicius*, n. 72, we still have: "*basilica beati Andreae iuxta basilicam sanctae Mariae*"; though further on (*Gregorius II.*, 1, 397, n. 178) we

It was this same Goth, Valila, who founded the church at Tivoli, whence came the far-famed *Carta Cornutiana.* Like his contemporary the barbarian Ricimer, he seems to have amassed considerable wealth in Rome. Just as Ricimer founded the church of S. Agata dei Goti, so Valila, according to the text of the dedicatory inscription, "betrothed" his goods to Christ, and gave his property—*i.e.* this magnificent hall and the surrounding ground—as a legacy to Pope Simplicius. The latter, according to the same inscription, dedicated the hall to St. Andrew, to whom, so far, no special church had been consecrated in Rome. No pillars were put up in the rectangular interior, but the apse, with which the building was already provided, was decorated with a mosaic representing Christ surrounded by the apostles.[1]



Ill. 123.—Marble and Mosaic Decoration on the Walls of St. Andrew Catabarbara.

An old drawing. Holtzinger, *Altchristl. Architek.*, p. 194.

Such was the beginning of the first Roman church to St. Andrew. It stood on the present site of the Hospital of St. Anthony the Abbot, and was entered during later times from the forecourt of the church of St. Anthony.

The inscription mentioned stood in letters of mosaic in the apse down to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It was copied by Platina, and also by the Flemish painter Van

find: "*monasterium sancti Andreae apostoli quod Barbare nuncupatur*"; finally (*Leo III.*, 2, 28, n. 413): "*tecta basilicae beati Andreae apostoli quae appellatur cata Barbara patricia.*" For its origin, see vol. i., p. 197. Cp. *Analecta rom.*, 1, 80.

[1] *Carta cornutiana.* Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, 1, CXLVI. The inscription is in de Rossi, *Bullett. arch. crist.*, 1871, p. 8, 23. Cp. ibid., pp. 5 ff. and 41 ff., a full account of this church.

Winghe, though it was Peter Sabinus who recorded it with the most accuracy. The much earlier classical text of the inscription in which Junius Bassus dedicated to secular purposes the public hall he had erected has also come down to us.[1]

It was not until 1686 that the building, then already dilapidated and despoiled, was almost completely destroyed. What remained was finally cleared away after 1871. It is only from the drawings of Giuliano da Sangallo and Giovanni Ciampini, and from a few fragments of the decorations still preserved, that we can realise the classic charm of the work.

Junius Bassus, who was certainly still a pagan when the building was erected, had the interior walls of his hall entirely faced with inlaid work in choice coloured marble (Ill. 123). This work not only comprised decorations of the choicest character, but also some large historical pictures, all carried out in mosaic. Later artists found here their best models. The ancients made great use of this kind of work, which they called *opus sectile.* We have already seen specimens, though far less perfect, at Sta. Sabina.

Here, in the aula of Bassus, even when it had been transformed into a church, these marble pictures of public games and wild-beast fights continued to glitter on the walls for thirteen hundred years. Busts of Titus, Domitian, and other emperors were there displayed surrounded by martial trophies. The large round-arched windows had, right and left, marble facings, which imitated hangings with Egyptian designs (*vela alexandrina*). Above these stone draperies, within square frames, were historical scenes, also in stone; and, finally, quite at the top, similar scenes arranged in oblong frames. Among these pictures mythological subjects were not lacking; for instance, one scene depicted Hylas carried off by the nymphs. All this decoration was allowed by Pope Simplicius to remain, though some of it, out of respect for God's worship, may for a while have been concealed behind those costly woven or embroidered hangings which were then so frequently used in churches. The presence of one of these scenes must, however, have been welcome to pious Christians, for it represented the triumph of the Emperor Constantine over Maxentius.

This last scene from the church of Catabarbara Patricia has

[1] Text of Bassus in DE ROSSI, ibid., p. 27.

been preserved among Sangallo's drawings. The Emperor stands upon a high tribune, and in front of him are cheering soldiers with uplifted spears; a triumphal car, the *carpentum*, is approaching. This triumph was to celebrate publicly, in the customary manner, the alteration in Roman affairs, even pagans rejoicing over the revolution which was a consequence of the death of Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. If the Senate, though still almost wholly pagan, could erect in 313 the famous Triumphal Arch to Constantine, it is no wonder to find this victory again glorified two years later in the public aula of the heathen Consul Bassus.[1]

Four only of these scenes survive. They show the Rape of Hylas, with an Egyptian curtain below it; the solemn installation of a consul, possibly of Junius Bassus himself; lastly, two wild-beast fights between tigers and a cow and a bull. The two former are now in the Palazzo Albani (del Drago) in Rome; the two others in the Capitoline Museum.[2]

All these rich decorations of St. Andrew Catabarbara, trophies of the finest classical art of the kind made to do service in the house of God, show the universal fate of classical art at that period, finding its sanctuary in the Church. Stimulated by profane art, that of the Church also won rich laurels, especially in the domain of mosaic-work.

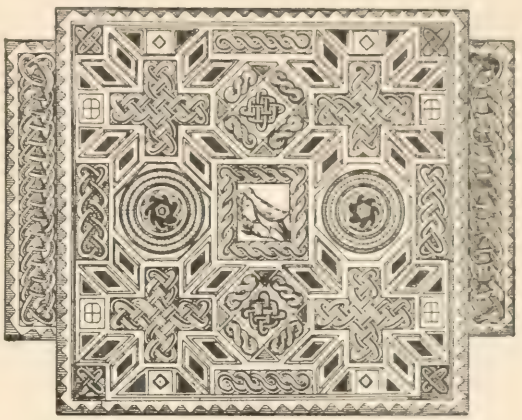
Mosaics in Rome. The Church's Pictorial Language at the Time of her Splendour

269. Mosaic-work stood in high favour among the Christian artists of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thanks to this art, rich tessellated pavements were provided in churches, baptisteries, and even in subterranean crypts and vaults—as, for instance, is shown in the splendid example unearthed in 1838 in a crypt

[1] See illustrations from the Codex of Sangallo (in the Barberiniana) in DE ROSSI, ibid., Pl. 1–4, and *Bullett. arch. com.*, 1893, Pl. IV.–V.; in the latter, p. 98, with explanations by Marucchi. For greater detail, see DE ROSSI, p. 46 ff. See also text and figures in CIAMPINI, *Vet. monim.*, I, 52 ff., and Pl. 21–25, 76. On Pl. 1 he gives a ground plan of the hall.

[2] There is a fine coloured illustration of the Capitoline scenes in the *Bull. arch. com.*, 1893, Pl. II.–III. In 1892 these fragments were seen by the present writer lying neglected between the beds in the church of S. Antonio Abate, then used as a military hospital. Cp. A. NESBITT in *Archaeologia*, 40, 267–296. LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 28 f. D'AGINCOURT, *Pittura*, Pl. 13, n. 3; 84, n. 1.

near the mausoleum of St. Helena (Ill. 124).[1] This art was also responsible for wall-decorations of all sorts, from simple coloured facings to geometrical and figured ornaments of the highest artistic merit; but it reached its perfection in mosaic scenes, forming the finest and, at that date, the best-appreciated decoration for places of worship. These pictures, produced at the cost of incredible toil by combining myriads of tiny marble or glass cubes, bear a truly monumental character. On account of their permanent character and the high artistic value of the work, they appealed strongly to the taste and feeling of the Romans of that period.



Ill. 124.—Floor-mosaic of a Crypt on the Via Labicana.

Not that the art of painting in colours was neglected, and, doubtless, the forecourts and interiors of the basilicas, the oratories, and the mansions of the wealthy were all ornamented with paintings by Christian artists. But whereas few of these treasures have come down to us in consequence of the perishable nature of their colouring—the catacombs alone having sheltered successfully their store of pictures—Rome can even to-day congratulate herself on the possession of a large number of mosaics from the late imperial and early mediæval period.[2]

As a whole, these mosaics bear witness to a real awakening, showing as they do an improvement on the productions of secular art in the period preceding Constantine's edict of peace. In them

[1] From Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst.*, 1, 403. The crypt was discovered near Torre Pignattara (St. Helena). It is not certain that it is a Christian building, but if the dove with the olive-branch, and the crosses, be not accidental features, they would lead us to suppose that the work was a Christian one.

[2] Apart from the frescoes of the catacombs, of which more anon, the following paintings may be mentioned: 1. The Orante and its figurative surroundings in a hall recently excavated beneath the church of SS. John and Paul (see vol. i., p. 57); 2. the picture in the Oratory of St. Felicitas (see vol. i., p. 216); 3. the two portraits of leading Romans found in the lower church of San Clemente; 4. the pictures in the early Christian oratory excavated from under the Monte di Giustizia. The first alone may still be seen.

we see religious art pressing forward, anxious to show all it can do by adapting and reinvigorating ancient themes and permeating them with Christianity. In one branch alone of the plastic art do we find a similar successful renewal of Roman art under Christian influences—namely, in the sculptures of the sarcophagi, with which we shall deal later. Sculpture in the service of the dead, and mosaics in the churches attended by the living, such were the favourite forms of art in the Church during the declining days of the Roman Empire.

The mosaics in the basilicas, where they are not merely ornamental, represent either historical events or symbolic or typical objects.

To the first category belong first and foremost the historical scenes drawn from the Old or New Testament; to the latter a series of figures, such as lambs, doves, the hand of God, pictures of rivers or cities, which were usually added to other pictures to give them a still deeper significance. Many scenes can be described as historico-symbolic, for they portray a definite fact or event with the help of ideal imagery, thus making its significance plainer. Thus, for instance, the giving unto Peter of the power to loose and to bind is expressed by figures which impress on the beholder the importance of the event; or again, the reward of the martyrs at the hand of Christ is depicted so as to show the confessors with their crowns forming a circle around their transfigured Saviour or led by the Prince of the Apostles to Christ in the abode of the blessed.

270. The portion of the basilicas in which mosaic art was most lavishly and appropriately displayed, was, agreeably with both the architectural and liturgical idea, the tribune or apse.

In Constantine's time a certain subject had already established itself as peculiarly adapted to the mosaic decoration of the apse, the subject being one of combined historical and symbolic character. Above all it glorified Christ, whose law, victorious since Constantine, was here displayed triumphant; then the Princes of the Apostles, the glory and ornament of Christian Rome. At the same time the picture turns our thought to the world which now, since the overthrow of paganism, comes unhindered from East and West to Christ and His saving streams. So well-known and usual was this speaking figure, that we even find it depicted in

unexpected situations; for instance, on the bottom of a gilt glass (Ill. 125) and on a marble graffito from the catacombs.[1]

In the same manner as ancient art was wont to show the Emperor bestowing on a governor, about to be despatched to his province, a scroll in token of his new authority, so here Christ, as Lord and Lawgiver of the New Covenant, stands in a royal attitude upon a hillock surrounded by refulgent clouds, His right hand held aloft in command and his left holding the roll of the Law. This roll He commits to St. Peter, who receives it with covered hands. Tallying with the bent and venerable figure of St. Peter stands, on the other side, that of St. Paul in a bold, confident posture, teaching the Gentiles. The scene is framed by two lofty palm trees, which recall Palestine, and at the same time typify the Promised Land of Heaven. On one of the palms is poised the Phœnix, symbolising the resurrection; for the resurrection from the dead is the seal and confirmation of the truth and power of the New Covenant (1 Cor. xv. 14). The river Jordan flows from the hill upon which the Divine Lawgiver stands, the name IORDANES being expressly given on the gilt glass mentioned, and on several mosaics. The Jordan typifies the water of baptism, the Sacrament of the New Birth, which is for humanity the primary condition and foundation for the attainment of salvation and blissful eternity. In the lower part of the picture

Ill. 125.—Peter receives the Roll of the Law.
Part of a gilt glass in the Vatican.

[1] For the gilt glass reproduced above, see Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*, 2 ed., p. 84 ff.; *Arte crist.*, Pl. 180, n. 6; also vol. i., p. 574. The graffito from the Catacombs, now at Anagni, is figured in the present work, Ill. 86.

on our gilt glass, two cities are represented at each corner, bearing one the name of IERVSALE, and the other that of BECLE (Bethlehem), and standing for the two categories called unto salvation, the Gentiles and the Jews. As types of the faithful flock of Christ, we see lambs, here six in number, migrating from the two cities to the centre, where stands another lamb upon a rock, whence flow four streams. This is the Lamb of God, enthroned upon the rock whence flow life-giving streams, a rock even more wonderful than that of Moses in the wilderness. The four streams are the four Gospels, which refresh the parched earth with Divine doctrine. *Viva Christi flumina* is the description given by Paulinus of Nola of the four evangelists.[1]

Another subject of frequent occurrence in the apses is also repeated upon a gilt glass. The Saviour of the World is there seen seated upon a raised throne, surrounded by those who will reign with Him in Heaven—Peter and Paul and other martyrs. The elements of this composition are sometimes found mingled with those of the former, and moreover the accessory symbols are sometimes varied. Other schemes were also invented, the artists being free in their work and not tied down to any particular pattern.[2]

271. To take the chief mosaic works in Rome belonging to this period in their chronological order, we must give the first place to that in the Rotunda of **Sta. Costanza**, near the Basilica of S. Agnese on the *Via Nomentana*. These mosaics, both those which are lost and the comparatively few still preserved, were produced by a highly skilled hand in Constantine's time (see Ill. 126; cp. Ill. 113). We have already described them. A modern historian of art says justly of the classical character of the work: "It expresses the conception of a Christian community to which the transition to the New Covenant involves no breach with all that was best and most beautiful in the traditions of antiquity. Christianity, as displayed in the vaulting of Sta. Costanza, was certainly not responsible for the overthrow of classicism." "Had it been possible to retain it," rightly adds the same author, "the

[1] PAULINUS, *Epist. ad Severum*, 32, n. 10: "*Petram superstat ipsa petra ecclesiae*
De qua sonori quattuor fontes meant | Evangelistae viva Christi flumina." Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1887, p. 119, where he deals with the similar scene on the silver reliquary from Northern Africa, now in the Christian Museum of the Vatican. On the marble graffito at Anagni (see previous note), there is a connection between the lower and the upper scene.

[2] For Christ enthroned, see GARRUCCI, *Vetri*, Pl. 18, n. 4.

spirit of Damasus, Ambrose, Theodosius, and Augustine would have saved it." [1]

According to the well-grounded modern view, the second place belongs to the two long rows of biblical scenes in the nave of **Sta. Maria Maggiore**. It has been previously shown that they must have been placed in the upper walls of the nave under Pope Liberius. Here we must, however, protest against the judgment of Kraus, who opines that their execution is "very coarse." It is unjust to speak of the figures as "stunted" and "deformed."

Ill. 126.—Vintage Scenes and Decorative Designs in the Mausoleum of Constantina (Sta. Costanza).

Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, tav. 206; Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst.*, I, 406.

When closely examined—a difficult business on account of the height—it becomes clear that many of the flaws in the work are due to coarse and injudicious attempts at restoration. The figures certainly are "often of massive proportions," but that is characteristic of Roman art in general and of that epoch in particular. In spite of this the draughtsmanship usually betrays a sure hand and deep feeling, and the design as a whole bears the impress of genuine art still permeated by classicism. Here, indeed, greater

[1] Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 406. Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 204–207. Kondakoff (*Hist. de l'art byzantin . . . dans les miniatures*, Paris, 1886–1891) remarks (I, 103): "Le véritable art chrétien se révèle d'abord dans les mosaïques; mais les premières productions de cette espèce nous offrent un mélange singulier d'idées chrétiennes et de formes païennes, aussi bien dans les types que dans les motifs d'ornement et dans la composition."

freedom and truth to nature is displayed than in the mosaics on the Triumphal Arch of the same church executed on the following century.[1]

A proof of our contention is furnished by the picture of Abraham's meeting with the three angels, and their entertainment by the patriarch and his wife Sara, a remarkable mosaic in three scenes, of which we here give, for the first time, a photograph (Ill. 127). At the top we see the greeting of the angels. The leading angel in the centre, who is wholly surrounded by a halo, accepts, with Roman dignity and pride, yet not without grace, the salutation of the patriarch, who is seen bending low. In the lower part Abraham, outside the tent, first directs Sara to prepare the food and then waits upon his three guests, who are seated at table in the open air under an oak. Agreeably with the canons of Roman art, particularly in the last days of the Empire, this mosaic thus brings before us a whole story by means of juxtaposed scenes.

The third great work is the mosaic in the apse of the Basilica of **Sta. Pudenziana,** the earliest and choicest apsidal decoration still preserved by a Roman basilica. There is enormous difference between these grand animated and natural, albeit dignified, figures and those rigid mosaics of Rome belonging to the Byzantine and Carlovingian periods. In the centre Christ our Saviour sits enthroned in majestic repose and classic beauty. The inscription on His open book proclaims Him the "Protector of the church of Pudens." Around Him are seated the Apostles in life-like and dignified posture. Behind them two female figures approach our Saviour, tendering Him their crowns, and, according to the more probable opinion, typify the Church of the Gentiles and that of the Jews. In the background, behind the two women, stands a large structure comprising a portico and various buildings. Some have thought this a view of the city of Rome in the neighbour-

[1] GARRUCCI, Pl. 215–222. KRAUS, p. 418. See above, p. 33 ff.

Note to Ill. 127.—Photographed by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani. In all three scenes Abraham may be recognised by the likeness. Cp. Ill. 109, with Abraham waiting on the angels. In our illustration may be seen the bread and the beaker of wine, just as is the case on the neighbouring mosaic representing Melchisedech (see above, p. 120 f.), in either case figuring the Eucharistic species, both the mosaics being near the high altar, where the Eucharist was offered. On the whole series of Pope Liberius's mosaics more ample information, based on photographs by C. Tenerani, was given by the present writer in his November conferences, 1898, on Christian archæology (*Nuovo Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1899, p. 82). Cp. H. GRAEVEN, *Bonner Jahrb.*, 105 (1900), p. 152 and Pl. 18 (on the sacrifice of Melchisedech).

Ill. 127.—Abraham and the Three Angels.
(Mosaic in Sta. Maria Maggiore.)

hood of the Sta. Pudenziana. But, with more likelihood, it might be taken as a comprehensive view of the holy places in Palestine, then so familiar to the Romans. This would give a reason for the bare hill rising in the centre in imitation of Calvary, and bearing a tall cross which the artist evidently desired to bring into evidence. We shall not be wrong in believing this to be the cross at Jerusalem, of which the relics, then only recently found, were in great demand throughout the Christian world. The cross sparkles with jewels as did that then venerated at Jerusalem, according to the testimony of the saintly pilgrim Ætheria. The four Evangelists bear witness upon the same mosaic to the sign of our salvation, being figured by the conventional symbols of the angel or man, the lion, the ox, and the eagle. The work belongs to the close of the fourth century, and probably forms part of the decorations added by Pope Siricius when the church had been already restored.[1]

The mosaics in Sta. Sabina, which come next in the fourth place, date from the pontificate of Celestine I., or perhaps from that of his successor, Xystus III. At any rate it is certain that the fifth work belongs to the latter, namely, the decorations on the Triumphal Arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore. As we have previously described both these works, they need not delay us here.[2]

The influence of the classical tradition of art is more noticeable than in the two last-named works, in the mosaics of one of the niches in the Oratory of **SS. Rufina and Secunda**, which is really the ancient porch of the Lateran Baptistery (6). The decoration is so tasteful, and, with all its profusion, so delicate, that it is usually ascribed to an earlier date. Yet since Xystus III. most probably erected the porch when restoring the baptistery, its mosaics most likely belong to his time. They are, moreover, purely decorative, and, as we know, traditions of the best period were usually better preserved in decorations than in representations of persons. The design consists in green foliage beautifully outlined in gold on a blue background. A tiny figure of the Lamb of God between four doves in the upper border and six larger crosses amidst the twining leaves are the only additions

[1] GARRUCCI, Pl. 208. KRAUS, p. 490. The inscription runs: DOMINVS CONSERVATOR ECCLESIAE PVDENTIANAE. Cp. *Analecta rom.*, Dissert. 13, n. 2.
[2] GARRUCCI, Pl. 210. See above, p. 33 ff. KRAUS, pp. 412, 414.

which can be recognised. The crosses would lead us to suppose that before Hilary built his Oratory of the Holy Cross near by, confirmation was administered here in the portico, which thus served as the *consignatorium—i.e.* where candidates were marked with the cross.[1]

The next mosaic in order of time is that executed under Leo the Great on the so-called Arch of Placidia in St. Paul's (7). Although much altered later, it still reflects, as we have seen, early composition, and is instinct with the ancient Christian spirit.[2]

A much better preserved mosaic, which comes next in point of date and is also ascribed to Pope Hilary, covers the vault in the **Oratory of St. John the Baptist**, which this Pope erected beside the Lateran Baptistery (8). Here again the work consists principally in mere ornamentation gracefully wrought into a single whole. Delicate creepers twine round four staves, which meet in the centre at the Lamb of God standing within the Crown of Victory. As has been rightly observed, the birds and baskets of flowers and other details within the panels thus formed remind us strongly of the paintings in the Catacombs.[3] The whole oratory seems to be constructed on the plan of a mortuary chapel, namely, on that of St. John at Ephesus where Pope Hilary had once fled for refuge.[4]

The next is the oldest apsidal mosaic still existing in its entirety, and covers both the Triumphal Arch and the apse. This is the work by Felix IV. (526–530), in **SS. Cosmas and Damian** on the Roman Forum, with which we have already dealt (9). The arch is surmounted by the Lamb of God in the midst of apocalyptic scenes. The apse displays the majestic figure of our Saviour upon raised ground, with the Princes of the Apostles on each side leading to Him the titular saints of the church, Cosmas and Damian. This mosaic, which, in spite of some signs of decadence, is full of the force and simple grandeur of Roman works of art, was in reality merely the last of a rich series of decorations in marble and mosaic which adorned the ancient hall of the archives, and perhaps also the adjacent Heroon of Romulus,

[1] KRAUS, p. 411. DE ROSSI and also ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Le Latran au moyen-âge* (Pl. 43), give illustrations. In GARRUCCI this mosaic has been overlooked.

[2] GARRUCCI, Pl. 237. KRAUS, p. 412. MÜNTZ, *L'ancienne basilique de St.-Paul-hors-les-murs*, in *Revue de l'art chrét.*, 1898, p. 1 ff. and 108 ff. Cp. with what was said above, p. 74 f.

[3] GARRUCCI, Pl. 238. KRAUS, p. 413.

[4] See above, p. 53.

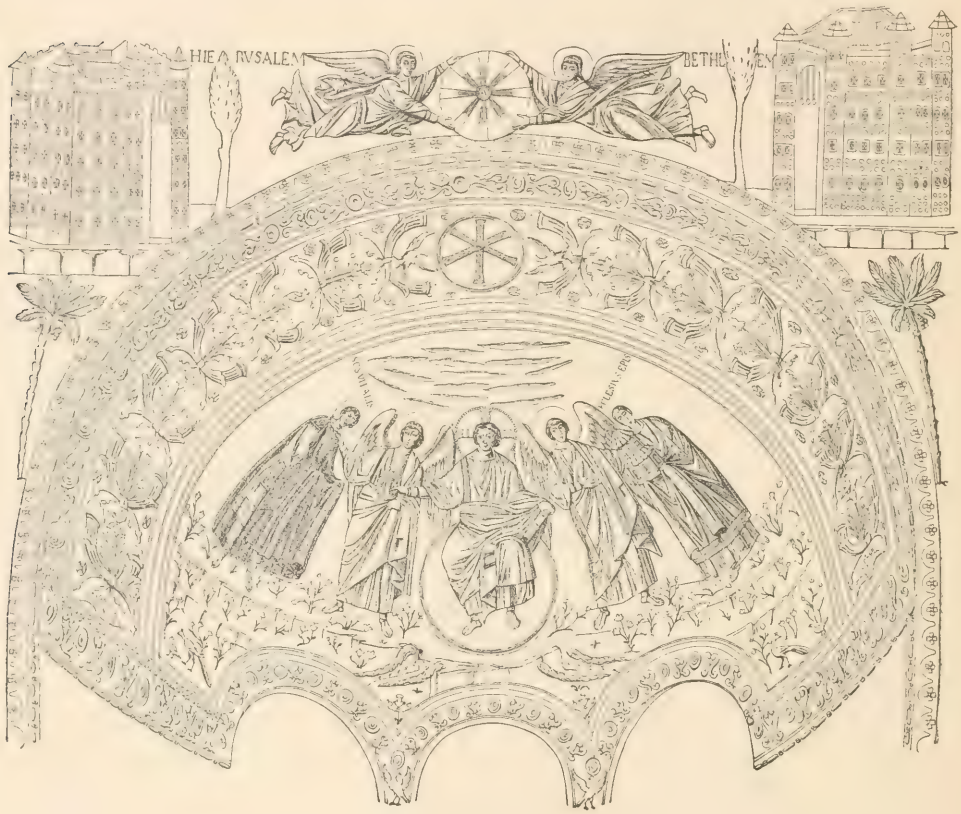
i.e. the annexed rotunda, for the inscription on the mosaic in the apse boasts of the "radiance" of the "Hall of God" (*Aula Dei claris radiat speciosa metallis*). The "*Aula Dei*" is the whole church, and the mosaics which in classic times decorated the *Templum Sacrae Urbis* will probably have been left undisturbed by Felix.[1] The series of early mosaics, in which the tradition of good Roman art still prevails, closes with that in the Basilica of **San Lorenzo fuori le mura** (10). Upon the Triumphal Arch which spans the sepulchre of the Saint, we see Christ seated upon the globe as He also appeared in the lost mosaic of St. Agatha's (Vol. I., Ill. 21)—a late and not very artistic design. Whereas, however, in St. Agatha's the Apostles stood in rows on each side of our Lord, there are here, besides Peter and Paul, only four figures—St. Lawrence, the titular saint of the church; associated with him as deacon, St. Stephen, whose relics under Pope Simplicius had been brought from Jerusalem and deposited in this church; then in the corners, St. Hippolytus, who reposes near by, and on the other side, to correspond, the author of the mosaic and restorer of the church, Pope Pelagius II., holding in his hands the model. Pope Felix IV. had been similarly depicted, and for a like reason, in SS. Cosmas and Damian.[2]

272. No city in the fourth or fifth century yielded such brilliant specimens of mosaic work as Rome; in spite of the unfavourable circumstances of the period, nowhere was the standard of ancient classical culture in this difficult department held so high as in the Eternal City. In the fifth century **Ravenna** had, however, already begun to rival Rome. Under the patronage of the Roman sovereigns it began to cultivate this branch of art, and continued to do so throughout the Gothic period, with the support of the Gothic rulers, as well as later when the Eastern Empire had reasserted its sway, and with such success that it came to surpass even Rome. In Rome the last-mentioned mosaic in San Lorenzo already in some measure foreshadows the approach of that blank rigidness with which increasing incapacity and want of

[1] GARRUCCI, Pl. 253. See above, p. 103, and vol. i., p. 232. KRAUS, p. 418. Remains of the ancient mosaic, perhaps, however, a mere veneer of marble, were still seen in the sixteenth century by Andrea Fulvio, du Perac, and Ugonio. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bullett. arch. crist.*, 1867, p. 66.

[2] GARRUCCI, Pl. 271. KRAUS, p. 420. On the lost mosaic in St. Agatha's, see vol. i., Ill. 21. On a number of other lost mosaics in Rome, see MÜNTZ, *The Lost Mosaics of Rome*, in the *Americ. Journal of Arch.*, 2, n. 3; and in DE ROSSI, at the end of his *Musaici*.

taste stamped the Roman mosaics of the following period. The drawing becomes steadily more lifeless and stiff; the figures become gloomy to a degree; sanctity is most awkwardly expressed by abnormal leanness, and an abundance of gilding is employed to make up for artistic deficiency. On the other hand, who has ever visited Ravenna and could forget its basilicas deco-



Ill. 128.—Mosaic in the Apse of San Vitale in Ravenna.
Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 258; Kraus, op. cit., p. 441.

rated with such venerable mosaics? The nave of Sant' Apollinare Within the Walls (S. Apollinare Nuovo), with its long series of saints, the Baptistery of the Catholics, radiant with mosaics, and so many other buildings of Ravenna, leave an indelible impression, and will, even in future ages, attest how profoundly suggestive early Christian art could be. An attentive observer will, however, find even in Ravenna, especially in the later mosaics, many tokens of foreign influence upon the native Italian traditions. From the

East came especially the tendency to insist unduly on the drapery and decorations. These were the results of the so-called Byzantine style in Italy.[1]

One of the finest specimens of the mosaic art was that produced by Rome's rival on the Adria in the decoration of the altar neighbourhood in the Rotunda of San Vitale, a work which seems to be due to Bishop Ecclesius (522–532). In the apse (Ill. 128) the figure of our Saviour, still youthful and beardless, sits enthroned upon the globe, bestowing a crown upon St. Vitalis, to His right, while, on His left, Bishop Ecclesius approaches, holding a model of his rotunda. Vitalis, in his golden chlamys, and Ecclesius, in planet and pallium, are each led to Christ by an angel. Graceful ornaments frame the picture; a garden, watered by four streams, springing forth at the feet of Christ, and containing birds and flowers, no doubt symbolises heaven, the abode of bliss. The outer border is decorated by a rich design formed of blossoms resembling crossed cornucopias united at the top in the monogram (*Iesus Xristus*). Above this, between the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, two floating angels, like ancient figures of Victory, support the same monogram combined with a cross . Under the cities are palms bearing fruit, and, at the sides, slim cypresses.[2]

273. Once more returning to Rome, did we desire to dilate on the magnificence and abundance of the mosaics produced by classical art in its second spring, it would be our duty to give a list of the manifold works which have disappeared in various ways, but of which notices or descriptions have come down to us. We should also have to pass in review those mosaics of which fragments still exist, and finally proceed to the Roman cemeteries to admire the specimens of mosaic art found there. For even in the service of the dead, workers in mosaics laboured, not only laying pavements of many colours in the mortuary chapels, but even covering the whole surface of the vaults with their designs. We see an instance of this on a tomb in the

[1] Cp. KURTH, *Die Mosaiken der christl. Aera*; *Die Wandmosaiken von Ravenna*, 1902.

[2] KRAUS, pp. 441, 438. GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 258.

Cemetery of St. Hermes, where remains still exist of mosaics portraying Daniel among the lions and the resurrection of Lazarus. From one cemetery in Rome, that of Cyriaca, we have the two large mosaic portraits published by de Rossi of Flavius Julius Julianus and his wife, Maria Simplicia Rustica, probably relatives of the City Prefect Rusticus Julianus, who died in Rome in 388.[1]

But we must now turn our attention to the paintings. True, painting was but of small account when compared with the mosaic art, yet, adapting itself more easily to the genius of the artist, it was responsible for a far larger number of works.

Painting and the Cemeteries

274. Owing to the perishable character of their productions, as has been already explained, comparatively few works of Christian painters in the late Empire have survived to this day. The venerable remains of early Christian painting must be looked for principally in the Catacombs—a fact which is responsible for a drawback, viz. that these pictures, designed to remain underground, and therefore to be seen always by artificial light, have usually been roughly drawn and irregularly coloured, and in consequence of these imperfections they really afford no insight into the actual state of the art of painting when they were produced. In spite of this, Christian thought and deep feeling find worthy expression in the common language of art.

The well-executed picture of our Lady with the Infant Jesus, under an arcosolium in the *Coemeterium Ostrianum*, belongs to the **fourth century** (Ill. 129). The two Constantinian monograms of Christ show at once that the picture belongs to the period when the Church secured peace. In the fourth century the arcosolium of Zosimianus in the Catacomb of St. Cyriaca was decorated with several frescoes, one, for instance, depicting a soul as an orante, standing before the judge, from whom she receives her reward; others display the Good Shepherd, the Prophet Jonas under his ivy, Moses removing his shoes, and finally our Saviour enthroned between two apostles. In the Cemetery of Callistus a picture of the judge bestowing

[1] Mosaic in the Cemetery of St. Hermes, GARRUCCI, Pl. 204, n. 1. For portraits, see DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, fasc. 1.

rewards also belongs to this period. It, too, displays Constantine's monogram, Christ in the midst of the twelve Apostles and two harts quenching their thirst at a spring bursting from a rock. Presumably the Divine Lamb stood upon this rock, as in the mosaics, but its figure has completely disappeared. The same catacomb also contains a curious fourth-century picture, that, namely, of a female greengrocer painted over her tomb.[1]

In the Catacomb of St. Domitilla may be seen the fourth-century portrait of the grave-digger (*Fossor*) Diogenes, and near it the raising of Lazarus; also Moses bringing water out of the rock, and other pictorial decorations. In the same catacomb, and belonging to the same date, is the beautiful scene where the departed Veneranda is led into the gardens of Paradise by the martyr Petronilla. The representation upon an arcosolium of the Apostles Peter and Paul, with Constantine's monogram between them, belongs to the end of the century. On the same tomb we have a repetition of the scene of Christ surrounded by the Apostles. It has often been stated that on this picture Peter alone has a halo about his head to distinguish him from the other Apostles. As a matter of fact this is inaccurate, and close inspection shows that the nimbus is wanting even in the case of Peter. In the fourth century two other important frescoes were painted in St. Domitilla, of which the subjects have only lately been correctly explained. One picture was thought to represent either the administration of the Sacrament of Penance, or a sermon by a Pope in the Catacombs, whereas in reality it shows the Divine Judge. The other fresco, presumed to be a picture of the Annunciation, more probably, judging by the remains, represented the three young men in the fiery furnace.[2]

In the Cemetery of Praetextatus, to mention some pictures dealing with other subjects, but still of the fourth century, we have a tomb with the monogram of Christ, upon which Celerina

[1] LIELL, *Die Darstellungen Mariä*, Pl. 6; KRAUS, 1, p. 193. Wilpert was once inclined to see in the picture of Mary an idealised portrait of the lady buried on the spot (cp. *Cyklus christolog. Gemälde aus der Katakombe der hll. Petrus und Marcellinus*, 1891, p. 48), but later on he was induced by arguments, seemingly decisive, to revert to the opinion held, among others, by Aringhi, namely, that the subject of the fresco is the Mother of God and her Divine Son. See in his large work, Pl. 207.

[2] On the paintings of the Catacombs generally, see the coloured illustrations and explanations in WILPERT, *Die Gemälde der Katakomben*, in Italian, *Le pitture delle catacombe*, 1903, which gives 267 plates. See also LEFORT, *Études sur les monuments primitifs de la peinture chrét. en Italie*, 1885, p. 72 ff., and HENNECKE, *Altchristl. Malerei und . . . Literatur*, 1896.

and two other dead ladies are symbolically depicted as lambs, but with their names attached. There are also portraits of Peter and Paul, of Xystus II. with a companion, and finally a sheep surmounted by the name of Susanna, with two wolves described as *Seniores*. This is Susanna of the Bible story, with the two Elders, figuratively represented. In the Cemetery of St. Cyriaca we find on an arcosolium Peter with the cock, and in the lunette Christ with the five wise virgins on His right hand and the five foolish on His left. The latter carry their extinguished lamps in an inclined position, a vigorous way of expressing their want of oil. The so-called Platonia is, in the interior, adorned with pictures of our Saviour and the Apostles, which probably belong to the time of Pope Damasus. In the neighbouring Cemetery of St. Sebastian we see a remarkable picture of the Nativity of Christ. The manger of the Divine Infant has the form of a four-legged table, and behind it may be seen the heads of the ox and the ass. This is the only scene of the kind in the Catacombs. In the Cemetery of SS. Marcellin and Peter is a vault illustrated with scenes of Abraham's sacrifice, of Jonas cast upon dry land by the fish, and with orantes representing the departed, besides other ornamentations.

In the cemetery of the same martyrs, Marcellin and Peter, at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries, were executed the choice paintings which embellish the crypt. The two holy martyrs appear identified by their names and accompanied by the martyrs Gorgonius and Tiburtius, all together raising their hands towards the Lamb of God standing upon a rock, whence issue the four streams. In this vault our interest is, however, aroused particularly by the life-size picture of Christ and the Princes of the Apostles. Both the draughtmanship and the colouring are exceptionally well done for that period, and, what is no less important, the two Apostles display very human features and all the characteristics with which they were usually depicted in Rome.

In the *Coemeterium Ostrianum* we again see Peter and Paul on each side of Christ enthroned. This work may belong to the same period as the previous, but it is of less artistic merit. The common statement that the Apostles have the halo as well as Christ is erroneous; our Lord alone is thus distinguished.

The pictures just mentioned are but a small selection from

those we might have cited, for painters were very busy in the Catacombs during the fourth century.

In the **fifth century**, however, the number of frescoes in the Catacombs began to decline rapidly. The decay of the city and the misfortunes which overwhelmed it have left traces even here. The grand fifth-century figures of St. Polycamus, St. Sebastian, and St. Quirinus, in the Crypt of St. Caecilia in the Cemetery of Callistus, stand as memorials of a fast-waning civilisation. They are of regular Roman type. In their tunics and classically draped palliums, the figures, with their shaven faces, bring vividly before the spectator the Roman nobles of the period.

Two paintings only belonging to the **sixth century** can be pointed out in the Roman catacombs, namely, the two frescoes over the tomb of Cornelius, Pope and martyr, in the Catacomb of Callistus. They represent Cornelius with Cyprian, and Pope Xystus II. with Optatus, all vested in tunic and planet, with the pallium to denote their episcopal dignity. These works probably date from the time of John III., for the inscription sounds like a sigh of relief after the unspeakably sad days which Rome had experienced before this Pope, the restorer of the Catacombs.

275. In these paintings of the Catacombs, as the above examples testify, the profound symbolism of ancient times had gradually ceased to prevail. Pictures of a more simple historical character steadily superseded the thoughtful and significant paintings of older date. Christ's apostles appear more frequently, for they are the venerable pillars of the now firmly established Church of the New Covenant. The martyrs of the Catacombs are also glorified as joint victors in the universal triumph of the Church. Thus a reflection of the improved situation of the Church is found even in these underground passages, affording fresh subjects for the brush of humble artists. The technical skill of these paintings is, on the whole, on the old level, save that we now miss the refinement and tenderness met with, for instance, in the earliest classical pictures in the Catacomb of Priscilla. The artists of the period succeeding Constantine move less gracefully along the beaten track; they show a sort of preference for brown, reddish colouring and strong dark outlines, clearly displaying the figures. The result of this is that their compositions resemble rilievo work, and are devoid of

the real characteristics of paintings. In this wise the frescoes of the cemeteries form a sort of natural transition to the mosaics, for in mosaics the technical treatment is the same; indeed, many paintings of the Catacombs might be transferred as they are from the white chalky surface to the yellow or gold ground of the mosaics.[1]

The subjects of the paintings often coincide, even in the allegorical portions, with those of the mosaics. Thus, to allude only to two lost pictures, poetic inscriptions from the cemeteries on the *Via Salaria* speak of pictures belonging to the fifth century which may have been either mosaics or frescoes. One such inscription, placed there by Pope Boniface I., was copied by pilgrims in the crypt of the martyr Felicitas. The words show that the corresponding picture represents the heavenly triumph of Felicitas surrounded by her seven sons, likewise martyrs, just as we saw it depicted in the Oratory of St. Felicitas near the Baths of Trajan. Among other things the poem states that "she accompanies her guileless children amidst the pleasant meadows," and that "a floral crown bedecks her triumphant head."[2]

The second poem was found in the memorial Basilica of St. Silvester, at the spot where Pope Celestine I. had been buried. According to the text there must have been here a picture showing the martyrs Felix and Philip in glory, *i.e.* with crowns in their hands, standing near the Everlasting Judge. Quite in keeping with the war which Celestine had waged on Nestorius, the poem begins with a profession that this Judge was the same who, as God, was born, was crucified, and had returned to heaven.[3]

We might also call attention here to the beautiful doctrinal

[1] A remark rightly made by E. FRANTZ, *Gesch. der christl. Malerei*, 1 (1887), 154 ff.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, pp. 88, 116, 136. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 229. According to the copies cited in the text above, the following stanzas occurred in the poem:

"*Insontes pueros sequitur per amoena vireta,*
Tempora victricis florea serta ligant."

Besides the picture with these verses, there was another, and the accompanying verses warrant the conclusion that the martyrs were there depicted with the instruments of their martyrdom, probably with them at their feet.

[3] DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 62, 68. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 231:

"*Qui natum passumque Deum repetisse paternas*
Sedes atque iterum venturum ex aethere credit,
Iudicet ut vivos rediens pariterque sepultos,
Martyribus sanctis pateat quod regia coeli
Respicit interior, sequitur si praemia Christi."

poem which has come down to us in early copies from the Roman "mansion of the widow, Rusticiana," probably wife of the celebrated Boethius, who was executed in 524 This poem must also have been placed beneath a picture of our Lady with the Holy Child at her breast. The author of this, a certain "Orator Andreas," extols in words, replete with profound thought, and cast in an agreeable metre, the glorious privileges of both Mother and Child, saying, for instance, of the latter that He was "twice begotten—as Creator, without a mother; and as Redeemer, without a father." [1]

Another poem of equal literary skill was one copied by early pilgrims and epigraphists in the portico of St. Peter's, and which belonged to a painting or mosaic above the entrance to the basilica, representing the Emperor Constantine the Great. The verses tell of a recovery of the Emperor, due to the intercession of St. Peter. The custom of placing circular pictures and portraits above the entrances to churches or mansions has been abundantly proved. Constantine himself had such a portrait placed above the entrance of his palace in Constantinople. When the narthex of the earliest Basilica of St. Clement in Rome was excavated, two large portraits were found in it of such perfect style that they were plausibly ascribed to the very beginning of this church, *i.e.* the fourth century.[2]

276. Such metrical picture-inscriptions as those mentioned above form links in a chain of texts which are very important for the history of art. Epigraphs of this kind stand on a similar footing with the valuable collection of statue-inscriptions which have been preserved by the poet Prudentius in his so-called *Dittochaeum*, and in the *Tituli Ambrosiani*.[3] This was a form of poetry apart. Such verses often describe lost paintings to us with so much fidelity and freshness that, with the aid of similar

[1] GRISAR, *Analecta rom.*, I, 110: "*Bis genitus, sine matre opifex, sine patre redemptor.*"

[2] For the text belonging to Constantine's picture in St. Peter's, see vol. i. p. 302. It begins: "*Credite victuras animas remeante favilla.*" We pointed out in our previous volume that the fable of Constantine's recovery from leprosy either arose from a misunderstanding of this text, or was at least partially substantiated thereby. On the picture in Constantinople, see EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constant.*, 4, c. 15, in which he says that Constantine had himself painted there "as an Orante on the gate of the Royal Palace, above the vestibulum." This situation corresponds with the one chosen at St. Peter's in Rome. For the portraits in San Clemente, see STEVENSON in *Mostra di Roma nell' esposiz. di Torino*, p. 215, n. 308.

[3] S. MERKLE, *Festschr. des D. Campo Santo*, p. 33 ff.; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1896, p. 185 ff.

works still in existence, it would almost be possible to reconstruct the originals. Thus the poems of Paulinus of Nola on the frescoes in the church of St. Felix, built by him at the beginning of the fifth century, are full of information valuable for the history of early Christian painting. Such so-called *Tituli*, standing below pictures, do not seem to have been preserved in Rome later than the early mediæval ages. They show, however, that the classical custom had been adhered to, even when pictorial productions were already far removed from classic art.[1]

These and earlier metrical inscriptions bear witness to a parallelism of scenes from the Old and New Testaments. Religious artists appreciated highly that figurative explanation of Holy Scripture to which the Fathers were so much addicted, even at the time of Prudentius. His verses in the *Dittochaeum* are based upon such a correspondence of type and antitype in the Old Testament and the New, for in them twenty-four scenes from the Old and twenty-five from the New are dealt with in tetrastichs. As yet, however, the symbolic connection of Old and New Testament is only indicated in a general way, nor is the concordance of individual type with individual antitype insisted on. As is well known, mediæval artists went much further. In the so-called Poor Man's Bible, on which the decorations of the churches were largely based, each scene was usually matched by another, one being taken as the foreshadowing and the other as the fulfilment. In this the interpretations of the Fathers were closely followed, and the resemblance insisted on was thus frequently merely outward. That in Rome such artistic adaptation of the Holy Scriptures, within certain limits, was early quite usual is proved from the carving on the doors of Sta. Sabina, where it is apparent that many Old Testament events are directly contrasted with similar ones belonging to the New. The mosaics placed by Pope Liberius in Sta. Maria Maggiore are also derived from the Bible, and give a chronological series of pictures from Genesis and Josue, of which they form a sort of picture-

[1] Among such *Tituli* in Rome may be cited the inscription of Pope Agapetus in his library (which later on came into the possession of Gregory the Great) on the *Clivus Scauri* (see DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 28, n. 55; cp. p. 16); also the remarkable poem by Honorius I. on the Apostles and Christ's Ascension (*Analecta rom.*, 1, 120). Cp. a good notice by DE ROSSI: *De titulis christianis metricis et rhythmicis*, at the beginning of vol. ii. of his *Inscr. christ.*; cp. ibid., p. xxxiv. ff. GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, 1, 460 ff.

book.[1] Such juxtaposition of Old and New Testament scenes came to be known as *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*.[2]

Rome furnished patterns for such pictures even to far-distant lands. Benedict, the art-loving Abbot of St. Peter's Monastery at Weremouth (Jarrow) in England, brought back from Rome designs (*imagines*) for the decoration of his church and his Monastery of St. Paul. This happened during his fourth and fifth journey to Rome in 678 and 684. Venerable Bede mentions that it was after the pattern of these Roman *imagines* that Benedict had Isaac represented bearing the wood for his own sacrifice as a type of our Saviour bearing His cross. Likewise the picture of our crucified Saviour was paralleled by the brazen serpent of the wilderness, by looking upon which the Israelites were healed.[3]

Only by the merest chance has this notice come down to us to add to our knowledge of the influence exercised by Roman art upon the Christian world. Doubtless many other pilgrims coming from afar carried away models for a similar purpose. In England a Latin Evangeliary, preserved in the Cambridge Library, and containing eighteen coloured scenes from the New Testament, may well have been brought to England from Rome by St. Augustine, the apostle of England and disciple of Gregory the Great. The pictures belong, however, to an earlier period, as is clear from the youthful, beardless appearance of Christ. The work reminds us strongly of the carvings on the doors of Sta. Sabina, and of the sculptured sarcophagi of the fifth and sixth centuries with their historical scenes. These miniatures may therefore quite well have been painted from patterns such as Benedict's *imagines*, which also served for larger works. We must remember that these *imagines* which accompanied Benedict on his travels can have been neither frescoes nor mosaics, but in all probability were themselves mere miniatures on parchment. He may indeed have brought back a few of those ivory carvings in which biblical scenes were often illustrated, but such carvings were expensive, and were to be found only in the houses of the rich. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the preparation of such parchment models was a special industry in Rome, partly on account of the numerous orders given by inhabitants of Rome to

[1] On the doors of Sta. Sabina, see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1894, p. 41 ff., and *Analecta rom.*, 1, 455 ff. On the mosaics in Sta. Maria Maggiore, see above, p. 33 ff.

[2] See above, p. 122.

[3] From the passage in Bede, cited on p. 122.

painters, mosaic-workers, and sarcophagus-sculptors, and partly on account of the demand among foreign visitors for similar productions. This supposition would enable us to understand the similarity of types prevalent in Rome for expressing the same subjects, whether in painting or in stone, as well as the agreement of artists in other regions of Italy and even elsewhere with those of Rome, an agreement which is manifest even in trivial details.[1]

Painting and the Bible

277. We shall now take another step forward and approach the question raised lately regarding the earliest illustrated Bibles. Was there in the century and a half after Constantine such a thing in Rome as a copy of the Holy Scriptures enriched with illustrations? De Rossi, with his proved antiquarian insight, had expressed the view that the biblical mosaics of Liberius in Sta. Maria Maggiore stood in some connection with a picture-Bible.[2]

How common at that period was the practice of illustrating books is evident from certain secular productions. The fourth-century illustrated Virgil, in the Vatican, is a popular specimen of this kind, intended to familiarise young people with Virgil's poems. There was a more handsome fourth-century MS. of the Philocalian Calendar of 354, illustrated with fine pictures, of which we have only some poor copies, which are nevertheless invaluable monuments of such illustrations. Rome figures among the four personified cities. The most perfect example of secular book-illustration dates from the end of the classic period, and is the Vienna MS. of Dioscorides's work on Botany—a MS. written and illustrated for Juliana Anicia, daughter of Olybrius, who became Emperor in 472. On the title-page, a part of which we reproduce here (Ill. 130) on account of its classical design, we see the lady in question seated on a throne between allegorical figures of magnanimity and intelligence. The genius of knowledge, represented by a naked boy, offers her the author's work. The

[1] For the work in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, see GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, vol. iii., p. 64; with good illustrations after photographs, Pl. 141. KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 469. DE ROSSI, *De origine, historia*, &c., *bibliothecae sedis apostolicae*, p. 62.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, fasc. 24, *Navata di S. Maria Maggiore*. KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 451 ff.

Ill. 129.—Our Lady and the Holy Child.
(Painting from the Coemeterium Ostrianum.)

Ill. 130.—Miniature of "Dioscorides" Juliana Anicia, with symbolical figures.

female figure doing homage to Juliana Anicia, according to the inscription, shows the gratitude of the arts. In the panels formed by the ornamental framing, little naked genii are working at the various crafts.[1]

If secular books were so finely decorated, we may safely assume that equal zeal was shown for the Book of Books, for the treasure-store to which both religion and art were under such deep obligation. In point of fact we have at least some fragments of scriptural books illustrated in that period—for instance, the Vienna Genesis, the Vatican scroll of Josue, the Cottonian Bible, and certain MSS. of the Psalms.

278. The **Genesis** in Vienna, containing 48 miniatures, seems to belong to the fourth century, and thus to take the first place chronologically, as it certainly does artistically, among illustrated books of the Bible. Although nothing is known of its origin, its art is certainly that of Imperial Rome, which we here see making its way into the new religious world. One must observe the realistic treatment of these pictures and the naïve simplicity of their portrayal of ancient life to understand the peculiarities of the earliest Roman mosaics; for instance, of Sta. Costanza and the earlier ones in Sta. Maria Maggiore.[2]

The Liberian mosaics in Sta. Maria Maggiore stand on much the same level as the illustrations of the Vienna Genesis. Like these, they indulge in that characteristic practice of Roman art during the second and third centuries of introducing into one and the same picture the same persons two or three times over as taking part in events happening on different occasions. This graphic form of pictorial narrative, which has been called the "continuous," spread from Rome, and was found throughout the

[1] There is an excellent reprint of the Vatican Virgil (Cod. 3225) and some specimens of another codex (3867) in *Codices e vaticanis selecti phototypice depicti*, fasc. 1 and 2 (1899). The illustrations of the Calendar are given by STRZYGOWSKY, *Jahrbuch des archäol. Inst.*, 1 (1888). For Dioscorides's coloured title-page, see LABARTE, *Hist. des arts industriels* [2] (1872), 2, Pl. 43; cp. KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, p. 459. For the inscriptions on the miniature, cp. also LAMBECIUS KOLLAR, *Comment. bibl. Vindob.*, 2, c. 7. The MS. has just been reprinted, ed. J. DE KARABACEK, &c.: *Dioscurides, Codex Aniciae Iulianae picturis illustratus*, &c. (Lugduni Batav., 1906) in vol. x. of the *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti*.

[2] F. W. v. HARTEL UND FR. WICKHOFF, *Die Wiener Genesis* (*Jahrb. der Kunsthistor. Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. xv. and xvi., also separately, Vienna, 1895). The work contains all the illustrations beautifully reproduced. Cp. GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 112–123, and KONDAKOFF, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, 1, 78, where he calls attention to the realistic and classical character of many of the pictures. H. B. Swete (*Introd. to the Old Test. in Greek*, 1900, p. 139) thinks the writing is of the fifth or sixth century.

world in the sculptured sarcophagi, in carved ivories, in paintings and mosaics, and held its ground so stubbornly throughout the Middle Ages that only in the sixteenth century was it superseded by the present mode of representation which, with its taste for oneness, makes no allowance for the time-series, and depicts but the single moment.[1]

A second feature common to the biblical mosaics in Sta. Maria Maggiore and the pictures in the Vienna Genesis is the strong emphasis upon individual characteristics and the avoidance of uniform types. Comparatively little attention is paid to the colouring of the details, the artist endeavouring above all to secure a lively impression by exaggerating the more essential peculiarities. The blatant contrast of the colours, applied side by side, makes it easy for the spectator to grasp the meaning of the whole. This style has been given the name of "Illusionism," a word which might give rise to misunderstandings. The style itself is, however, perfectly recognisable, and is an outcome of the whole trend of previous Roman art. Greek art is differentiated by the fact that it is idealistic rather than realistic, ever striving after perfection in form and colour even in detail. It also sanctioned the use of stereotyped forms to denote definite expressions. The dominant characteristics of Roman art were, however, handed down to Christian art, and constantly reasserted themselves, especially in Rome, not only in the mosaics and paintings of the Catacombs, but also in the biblical scenes inserted in churches and in manuscripts.[2]

The next place belongs by right to the scroll of the Book of Josue, illustrated with miniatures and preserved in the Vatican. It is a strip of parchment about 33 feet in length. These miniatures, all permeated with the spirit of Roman art, show well the progress made by Christian painting, and are a striking confirmation of what we have been saying. They relate events in a style at once "clear, vigorous, and dramatic." Their connection with older art is unconscious rather than conscious. The artist's creations are his own, for he, as a true child of his time, worked without the slightest wish to imitate others. Just as was the case in the Genesis pictures, so here, too, we find the artist

[1] Cp. Wickhoff's introduction to the Genesis already quoted.

[2] For "Illusionism," a word preferred by Wickhoff, see his introduction to the Viennese Genesis, p. 76, &c.

personifying the rivers, introducing the Jordan holding a rudder and with the classical inclined vase whence flow the waters. The city of Jericho is shown as a woman seated in artistic attitude before the walls, with a mural crown upon her head. It is true that the angel appearing to Josue has a nimbus and wings; but, in other respects, with his drawn sword, he resembles a typical Roman soldier. The work is a copy made in the seventh or eighth century, but the original was very much older.[1]

It is of interest to know that the pictures in the scroll of Josue in several respects agree with the Liberian mosaics in Rome, even more closely than do those in the Vienna Genesis. The warrior angel just described is a case in point, as well as the whole conception of the scene where Josue stops the sun in its course. Yet neither the scroll of Josue nor the Vienna Genesis nor the Cottonian Bible we are about to discuss are portions of the actual picture-Bible which supplied the subjects for the Liberian mosaics. So far this work has eluded search. The **Cottonian Bible**, ascribed to the turn of the fifth and the sixth centuries, is only a small fragment of a larger work, though it contains about 130 illustrations. It is now in the British Museum. Its style shows traces of Byzantine influence.[2]

Illustrations superior in taste and execution to those of the Bible last mentioned are found in some psalters. These, like the two previous works, must be ascribed to the end of the classical period. They have succeeded well in their task of picturing lyrical subjects, but their very character made them useless as models for church decoration. In this they had not the advantage of those scenes from Bible history which were so extensively used in churches.[3]

Even in the sixth and seventh centuries illustrated copies of the different books of the Bible found their way into the remotest countries of Christendom, and we are justified in supposing that some at least of these were produced in Rome. The MS. of Rabbūla in Florence, written in 586, refers to a Syriac picture-Bible. A Byzantine illuminated Bible exists in the sixth-century

[1] Scroll of Josue, *Cod. gr. vatic.*, n. 405. The angel is well shown in HARTEL UND WICKHOFF, *Wiener Genesis*, Pl. C., p. 56. See the illustrations in GARRUCCI, Pl. 157–167.

[2] GARRUCCI, Pl. 124–125.

[3] Cp. the two good illustrations from the Greek Psalter of the *Bibl. Nat.* in Paris, Gr. 139, in KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 454, 455. TIKKANEN, *Die Psalterillustrationen*, 1895 ff.

codex of Rossano. Both Bibles contain the New Testament. An instance of a seventh-century illustrated Bible is given by the Ashburnham Pentateuch, written under Germanic auspices. It is therefore probable that a picture-Bible of this sort existed in Rome, though most likely all such illustrated historical books of the Bible were in the same form as the Vatican Josue, *i.e.* in scrolls—scrolls being preferred to codices because they made it easier to take in the whole at a glance and also facilitated comparison.[1]

That at present neither scrolls nor painted books are forthcoming which could demonstrate conclusively the practice of this art in Rome is a result of the utter destruction of all the written monuments in the city. We must remember that of all the manuscripts now in the possession of the Apostolic See, the churches and monastic houses of the city of Rome, not one dates from the period preceding the eighth century. The earliest Roman book we possess is a Bible given to the Pontifical Library during the eighth century. This is a codex, formerly kept at Amiato and now in Florence, which was written at the Monastery of Weremouth and brought to Rome in 716 as a present to the Holy See by Abbot Ceolfrid, Benedict Biscop's successor. From the eighth to the tenth century, again, only the merest fragments of the literary wealth of the Roman Church have been rescued. Unfortunately amidst the disasters which overwhelmed Rome, manuscripts were less able to hold their own than the city's colossal monuments.[2]

There is another remark called for by this disappearance of archives and libraries. Owing to their destruction our knowledge of the city and of the Papacy, in spite of the seeming abundance of historical sources, is deficient. We have therefore no right to

[1] The Syriac miniatures from the Codex Laurentianus, in GARRUCCI, Pl. 128–140. Cp. KRAUS, p. 463, 464. *Evangeliorum codex graecus purpureus Rossanensis*, by O. v. GEBHARDT and A. HARNACK, 1880. Edited, with photographs, by HASELOFF (1898). On the Ashburnham Pentateuch, see A. SPRINGER, *Die Genesisbilder mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den Ashburnham Pentateuch*, in the *Abh. der phil.-hist. Kl. der K. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, 9 (1884). WICKHOFF (*Wiener Genesis*, p. 95) says: "It would be of interest to find whether all the historical books of the Bible did not once exist in similar scrolls (as the Vatican Josue)." See also C. M. KAUFMANN, *Hdb. der chr. Archäol* (1905), p. 326; V. SCHULTZE, *Die Quedlinburger Miniaturen*, 1898.

[2] On the Codex Amiatinus, see DE ROSSI, *De origine*, &c., *bibliothecae sedis apost.*, p. LXXII.–LXXVIII., and in greater detail in the memoir *La bibbia offerta da Ceolfrido*, &c., in the collection *Al sommo pontef. Leone XIII. omaggio della Biblioteca Vaticana*, 1888. Ceolfrid had had the copy made after the text of St. Jerome's Bible, with illustrations added. He had also acquired in Rome a copy of the pre-Hieronymian Bible, one

reject as non-existent everything doubtful or which cannot be proved by documents, or to deal too much after our own will with points of history which are not clear.

Luxury in the Lesser Arts and in Church Vessels

279. Technical arts in the age following Constantine were busily engaged in decorating places of worship and their altars with metal work of all sorts, specially with work in gold and silver.[1]

The Christian Roman world adorned its sanctuaries with a prodigality which now seems almost incredible. Certain passages in the *Liber pontificalis*, enumerating with laborious precision the donations made by the Roman Bishops to their churches, would almost lead one to suppose that artists used the precious metals at their disposal exclusively for basilicas, baptisteries, and churches. Judging by the constant entries, there must have been an Oriental profusion of crosses, chalices, patens, candelabra and other lights, crowns, votive offerings of all kinds, cruets, and vessels for wine, arches to cover the altars, and balustrades to front them; there were also statues of Christ, of our Lady and of the apostles, bas-reliefs and scenes from sacred history, and so forth, in almost countless number. Moreover, to complete the delusion many of the objects are given Oriental names. They witness to the extent of the then Roman Empire throughout which these arts were practised.

In speaking of Pope Hilary we quoted several instances of his lavish donations for the embellishment of various churches. A few words must now be said of the means adopted for **lighting the churches.** We should not be doing justice to the basilicas,

of those corrected by Cassiodorus, and beautifully illuminated. This Bible from Rome served to stimulate the art of miniature painting in England. Cp. CORSSEN'S article upon the Bible of Cassiodorus and the Codex Amiatinus in the *Jahrb. für prot. Theol.*, 1883, p. 619 ff., and E. RANKE in the *Theol. Literaturztg.* (Leipzig, 1887, p. 268 ff.). Ranke (p. 275) wished to place the pictures of the Cassiodorian Codex, which Bede saw and utilised, on a level with those in the Codex Rossanensis. May they not contain traces of the Roman picture-Bible? In this department it is easy to raise such questions. Batiffol writes: "Les belles illustrations de la Genèse de Vienne, du Josué du Vatican, de l'évangile de Rossano ne se rattachent-elles point à une Bible illustrée et très ancienne, dont il serait possible de retrouver des traces dans plus d'un monument figuré de l'antiquité chrétienne romaine?" Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bull. di archeol. crist.*, 1882, p. 148 ff. Also BATIFFOL in the *Bulletin critique*, 1887, p. 249, in his review of Kondakoff's *Hist. de l'art byzantin.*

[1] STEPH. BEISSEL, *Bilder aus der Gesch. der altchr. Kunst in Italien*, 1899.

baptisteries, and church buildings already described did we not picture them to ourselves in all the splendour of their myriad lights.

In ancient times nothing was known of lights upon the altars themselves. They hung before or behind it, or stood around it as lofty candelabra of traditional, classical shape. Altars over the tombs of the more famous martyrs were noted for the number of their lights and the costly character of their lamps. St. Jerome explains the symbolic meaning of this. "It shows," he tells us, "that the saints were illumined at their death by the light of Faith; and reminds us that they now shine in the light of glory in their heavenly home."[1]

Not only the neighbourhood of the altar but the entire basilica was brilliantly illuminated on festive occasions. For this purpose chandeliers were usually hung from the arches of the nave, between the pillars, or from the ceilings of the nave and aisles (see Ill. 93). They generally consisted of circular metal frames, with sockets to hold oil lamps or candles. Others, called *gabatae*, took the form of plates or shells in bronze, silver, or gold. All these vessels were commonly adorned, not only with religious emblems, but also with designs borrowed from the secular style of the day, often with dolphins or lilies. Glass also was sometimes used in the lamps.

The chains from which these sumptuous lamps were suspended were also, not unfrequently, skilfully fashioned. In 1886, when excavations were in progress in an early Christian basilica at Verona, pieces of such chains were found near the foundations of the cupola, in which Christ's monogram, and crosses and monograms combined, did duty as links. This discovery also threw light upon the use of some interesting fragments of chains preserved in the Vatican Museum and formed by a series of Latin crosses. They, too, must have been used in churches, and probably supported a chandelier or *lychnus pensilis*, as it was called.[2]

The *gabatae* previously mentioned were sometimes called *Signum Christi;* or in Greek, *Signochriston.* Chandeliers of this description were probably made on the model of the monogram.[3]

The shapes of the lamps were very ingenious. To realise

[1] *Adv. Vigilantium*, c. 13. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bull. de arch. crist.*, 1887, p. 126.

[2] On Verona: *Notizie degli scavi*, 1886, p. 214; DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1891, p. 139 ff., Pl. IX., n. 2, 3. On the Vatican chain: DE ROSSI, ibid., p. 143.

[3] *Liber pont.*, 2, 78 ff., *Gregorius IV.*, n. 471: "*gabathas aureas purissimas interrasiles phylopares signochristas pendentes in catenulas III.*" DE ROSSI, ibid., p. 144. A

this we have only to look at the pictures made public of the recent discoveries in Northern Africa. Some have the symbolic figure of a ship or of a fish. The lamp of the Basilewski collection is famous, and takes the shape of a small basilica. The *Liber pontificalis*, even in the single case of Pope Hilary, speaks of him giving lamps which it describes variously as: *farus*, *farus cantharus*, *lampas*, *lucerna*, *corona*.[1]

Paulinus of Nola describes with poetic enthusiasm the brilliant illumination of the basilicas in the fourth and fifth centuries. He is full of the impression made by these "waving lights swinging from brazen ropes." An echo of the wealth of the past is the statement of the *Liber pontificalis* that Hadrian I. had a large chandelier (*farus*) in the form of a cross able to bear 1365 candles made for St. Peter's. It was hung in front of the Presbyterium, but lighted only four times a year.[2]

Prudentius likewise celebrates the glories of the churches' illuminations. Speaking of Easter Eve, he says that the panelled ceiling inside was studded with a host of stars and the vault of heaven robbed of its brightest lights. Venantius Fortunatus likewise, referring to the services held in the evening, says that the flood of light made it seem as if the golden orb of day still filled the church with its radiance.[3]

The abundant light reflected by the glistening marble walls and the gilt and highly coloured mosaics must indeed have resulted in a fairy-like effect; it must have made the great halls of the basilicas seem even more vast, and have produced a perfect kaleidoscope of colour.

This extraordinary display of lights is not to be explained

"gabata" preserved at San Martino ai Monti in Rome, belonging to about the fifth century, is reproduced in DE ROSSI, *Bull. archeol. crist.*, 1890, Pl. VIII.–X. It is the one dedicated to St. Silvester which Duchesne mentions in his *Liber pont.*, I, 201.

[1] Cp. the ship-form of the lamp of Valerius Severus (present work, vol. i., Ill. 14). GARRUCCI, Pl. 469. See, ibid., others in form of the basilica, and Pl. 472, 5, of a fish. Cp. illustrations of African lamps in KRAUS, *Realencykl. der christl. Alterth.*, 2, 272 ff. Cahier has an article on early Christian lighting in the *Mélanges d'archéol., d'hist., et de littér.* (CHARLES CAHIER ET A. MARTIN, 3, 1–51). Cp. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *La Messe*, v. 6, Pl. 441 *canistra*; Pl. 439, 446 *coronae*; Pl. 441, 444, 445 *gabatae*. LE BLANT, *De quelques sujets représentés sur des lampes en terre cuite de l'époque chrét.* (in *Mélanges d'archéol.* &c., 6 (1886), 229 ff.

[2] PAULINUS, *Poem.* 27, v. 389 ff. (*P.L.*, LXI., 657 ff.). *Liber pont.*, I, 490, *Hadrianus I.*, n. 320: "*Fecit farum maiorem*," &c.

[3] PRUDENTIUS, *Cathemerinon*, 5, v. 141. He speaks of the "*laquearia*" of the church as being studded with "*purpurei hesperi*." VENANTIUS FORTUN., lib. 5, carm. 6 (*P.L.*, LXXXVIII., *Mon. Germ. hist. Auctt antiq.*, t. 4). Cp. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *Ep.* 5, n. 17.

solely by the zeal of the day for the splendour of God's services; even in classical times due appreciation had been shown for the effects of brilliant lighting. Festivals of the emperors, and, previously, pagan celebrations, were usually marked by extensive illuminations. Among the objects most frequently found by excavators in Rome are lamps, both small and large, usually in terra-cotta. Many have heathen emblems, others display neutral designs, and in the catacombs and generally among those belonging to the period after Constantine, there are many bearing the monogram of Christ or some other symbol of Christianity. Such Christian tokens are found not only on lamps used in churches, but also on those intended for secular purposes. This was their way, perhaps all unconsciously, of protesting against the misuse of these lamps by a certain debased form of heathen art, for it is to be noted that no other handicraft was so frequently made a vehicle for the lustful and obscene, especially for the portrayal of incidents borrowed from mythology.[1]

The larger Roman basilicas, from their earliest time, owned landed property settled on them expressly for the maintenance of the lamps. In the inventory of the property given by Constantine to the Lateran Basilica, for instance, we are told that a portion was bestowed for this purpose, and we may safely assume, even when the *Liber pontificalis* is silent, that similar donations in the case of other basilicas were made with a like object. The cost of lighting was certainly considerable. Often choice oils, balsam, or spikenard were burnt at the shrines, and the contents of the lamps were made even more costly by fragrant additions.[2]

To increase the splendour of the lights round the tomb of St. Paul, Gregory the Great made over to this basilica the vast estate known as "Aquas Salvias," and numerous other properties. Similarly, Gregory II. ceded a whole series of olive-yards to St. Peter's "for the provision of lights"; their names may still be seen hewn in stone at the entrance to St. Peter's. The eighty-nine bronze lamps now at St. Peter's tomb are a poor reminder of the state of things in antiquity; indeed, the present surroundings of the Confession of the Prince of the Apostles, in the wealth of their

[1] Le Blant, *De quelques sujets* (*Mel. d'arch.*, 6, 1886, 234).

[2] Gift to the Lateran: "*constituit* (*Constantinus*) *in servitio luminum massa Gargiliana*," &c. *Liber pont.*, 1, 173, *Silvester*, n. 36. Cp. Duchesne, ibid., 1, CXLV.

decoration, would stand no comparison with those of the sixth and seventh centuries.[1]

280. Rich, and in their way perfectly unique, ornaments of the tombs of the Apostles and, generally, of the basilicas of Rome, were the votive offerings in gold and silver made by the Popes and Roman people, and also by foreign pilgrims to these shrines. The art of metal-working, then so much in favour, brought votive gifts of the most varied designs into the possession of the churches.

Such votive offerings consisted not merely in lamps, candlesticks, and candelabra of every sort offered to the favourite saint, but also in crowns (called *regna*), crosses, monograms, beautifully wrought symbolic figures, sacred vessels, or simple decorated tablets, all usually bearing an inscription from the donor, and often mentioning the fulfilment of a vow (*votum solvit*). These objects were frequently exhibited before the altar on the pergula, a row of columns connected by an entablature, reminding one of the iconostasis of the Greeks. Later on, even the chalices, patens, ewers, and other sacred vessels recently received in gift were hung upon the pergula. It is easy to picture the impressive effect of the brilliant lights described, flashing on this glittering array of gold and silver treasures.[2]

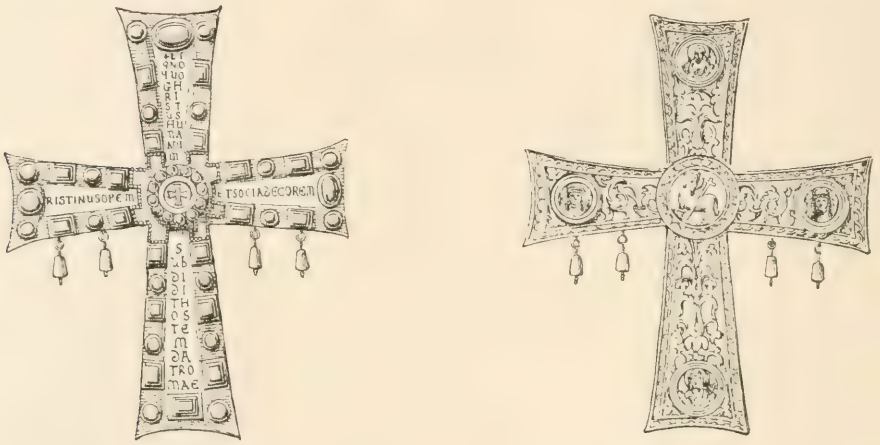
The precious cross of the Emperor Justin II. gives us an idea of the shape and costliness of some of these gifts. It is still in the Vatican Basilica, and is the sole relic of the quondam treasure of that church (Ill. 131). The cross is covered with silver-gilt plates studded with uncut gems; jewels also hang from rings on either arm. In the centre of the obverse side a relic of the cross has been inserted instead of the figure of the Crucified, which from motives of reverence was at that time avoided as far as possible. The reverse shows in the centre the Lamb of God supporting a crutched stick, and at the extremities silver medallions with pictures of the Eternal Father and the Son, and

[1] GREG. MAG., *Registr.*, 14, n. 14 (ed. MAUR., 14, n. 14); JAFFÉ-EWALD, n. 1901. For the inscription, which this document reproduces, see my *Anal. rom.*, 1, 157 ff. (with a photograph). On Gregory II., see DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 210, 413; JAFFÉ-EWALD, n. 2184. Cp. for both Popes, A. ROCCA (*P.L.*, LXXV., 479–482).

[2] Gregory III. gave to St. Peter's, for the pergula of the Oratory to All the Saints which he had erected there, among other things, "*galeatas aureas*," "*galeatas saviscas*," "*cruces* pendentes," "*amulas superauratas* pendentes," "*filalateria*," "*coronam auream cum cruce* pendentem *in gemmis*," "*calicem argenteum, qui* pendet *in ipsida ipsius oratorii*." *Liber pont.*, 1, 417, *Gregorius III.*, n. 195 ff. Rohault de Fleury (*La Messe*) has some clever sketches illustrating the manner in which such things were hung. Cp. Pl. 295, "calices suspendus"; Pl. 393, "burettes suspendues"; and especially Pl. 255, "ustensiles sacrés, pergula d'une basilique." See also 5, p. 102, "couronnes suspendues."

of the donors—*i.e.* the Emperor and Empress—in the attitude of orantes; the cross also bears a votive inscription of the sovereigns.[1]

281. How much silver-plate was possessed by a small country church not far from Rome is known from the donation of Valila, the Catholic Goth, to the church he founded on a property near Tibur called Massa Cornutanensis. The deed, usually spoken of as the *Carta Cornutiana*, belongs to the year 471, and is the oldest giving a detailed inventory of the furniture of a church. The pious and wealthy Goth—*Vir clarissimus et inlustris et comes et magister utriusque militiae*, as he signs himself at the close of



Ill. 131.—Cross of the Emperor Justin II. in the Vatican Basilica.

the deed—enumerates the estates which he makes over to the aforesaid church for the support of the clergy, for the expenses of the lighting, and for repairs. In this document we find the long list of the carpets, curtains, and hangings given by him; they were of the choicest material, and are described by odd-sounding foreign names. Mention is also made of the codices, the four *Evangelia*, the *Apostolorum*, the *Psalterium*, and the *Comes*—this being the first time we hear of this last lectionary. Regarding the plate he says: "I also assign to the church, for its

[1] On the cross, see de Waal, *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 7 (1893), 245 ff., *Die antiken Reliquiare der Peterskirche*, and Pl. 16, 17. Stefano Borgia, *De cruce vaticana* (a special monograph), Roma, 1779; Garrucci, Pl. 430, fig. 4, 5; Kraus, *Realencykl.*, 2, 243. The reliquiary has, in parts, been restored. The inscription runs:

Ligno quo Christus humanum subdidit hostem
Dat Romae Iustinus opem et socia decorem.

See present work, vol. iii., No. 436. The cross is over a foot in height.

adornment and for the worthy celebration of its most holy mystery, the following vessels: A silver paten, a large silver chalice and two smaller ones, a silver ewer (*hydria*), a cruet for offering [the wine], a strainer, a thurible, a silver *cantharus* lamp with chains and eighteen dolphins, four silver chandeliers with little chains and also silver candelabra; further, for the Confession, two silver doors and a key. The above articles have been weighed in the city scales, and their weight found to be 54 lbs. 7 oz. in silver measure. Moreover, I give two large bronze standard lights, each with eight dolphins, and also six larger *canthari* and twelve smaller ones, two bronze lilies, and two bronze candelabra." [1]

If a country church which has not left the slightest trace in history was possessed of such a rich collection of objects wrought in metal, we can form some idea of the number and wealth of similar articles in the great basilicas of the city.

282. We may well believe that the custom of surrounding the sacred altar with objects of value in such profusion was suggested and furthered by the desire, so prevalent among Christians in Rome after Constantine, to make their churches vie in splendour with, or even surpass in glory, the temples of the idolators. To this praiseworthy ambition a curious objection was made in later times. It has been said that religion was externalised by this parade and appeal to the senses. It has even been alleged that paganism thereby found its way back into the Church. A discussion of such charges, so far as they are ostensibly based upon theological grounds, can scarcely be attempted here. In point of fact they start from wrong premises and a misapprehension of the nature of worship and of ritual. From an historical point of view, however, it must be observed that when the city of Rome became Christian it could in no way divest itself of the habits and claims which were a natural consequence of Roman civilisation. Many such habits, in themselves entirely blameless, expressed feelings common to the whole of cultured mankind. These were adopted by the Church without the slightest suspicion, but with her characteristic tolerance. She was anxious not to repel people, as she certainly would have done had she enforced that simplicity which appeals to many modern religious

[1] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, cxlvi. BRUZZA, *Regesto di Tivoli* (*Bibliot. dell' accademia storico-giuridica di Roma*, v. 6, 1880), p. 15.

bodies. She preferred, however, to educate the age by guiding all that existed of good into still better channels. The Church will ever adorn her sanctuaries with earthly glamour, and lay the offerings of wealth before the throne of God. At the same time she is not of opinion that in every age and country similar artistic tastes or standards of splendour would be as appropriate as they were in the case of people accustomed to all the pomp and circumstance of ancient Rome. Nor has the charge of plagiarism levelled at the early Christians the slightest terror for any one acquainted with conditions of life in that age; far from it, such a one will compare certain inventories of heathen temples with the Christian inventory just cited, and feel no surprise when he finds that many articles on both lists agree in description and name.

A similar pagan inventory of considerable historical interest exists in the neighbourhood of Rome. This is the lengthy marble inscription belonging to the Temple of Diana in the Grove of **Nemi.** We here find enumerated in detail everything which had been supplied for the service and decoration of two temples; presents of choice materials—such as those given to the church at Tibur—eight bronze railings with standards just as above, a handsome *hydria*, also as above; likewise two necklaces with jewels for the statues of the gods; also earrings with gems, and a crown set with precious stones; then, further, twenty-one topazes, eighty-four garnets, four silver statues, one *patera*, one linen robe, one tunic, one girdle, one *stola*, one silk purple robe, one *alba*, and so forth.[1]

Early Christian Statues in Rome. Wood-carving

283. But Christian sculptors and metal-workers did not confine themselves to producing such small objects; they also created marble and bronze statues, though not in the same profusion; above all they filled the burial-places of the departed with sarcophagi artistically adorned with rilievo-work. The names of all the Christian votaries of the plastic art, like those of artists in other departments, have, however, been lost. Only of one single Roman sculptor was the name discovered by de Rossi, in manuscripts containing copies of early inscriptions. This sculptor

[1] *Corp. inscr. lat.*, XIV., n. 2215.

Ill. 132.—Statue of the Good Shepherd.

(In the Lateran Museum. Cp. Garrucci, Pl. 428, fig. 53; Kraus, *Geschichte der christl. Kunst*, 1, p. 227.)

deserves mention, not only on account of his being such an exception, but also because of the quality of his work. On the pedestal of an early Christian statue which stood in the church of San Crisogono in Trastevere, according to the seventeenth-century manuscript just mentioned, was to be read the inscription: "Flavius Tertullus gave in gift to this church [this statue], the work of his chisel," an inscription belonging to the fourth or fifth century.[1] In early Christian sculpture the object most frequently represented seems to have been the **Good Shepherd.** Five such ancient statues are still in existence in Rome, to say nothing of numerous rilievos of the same subject, and a bust of the Good Shepherd which tops a pilaster (*hermula*).[2]

The best of all these works is unquestionably the famous statue in the Lateran Museum (Ill. 132), belonging to the beginning of the third century. The Shepherd, full of youth and grace, is seen bearing the sheep upon His shoulder, its feet being held with each hand. The work enables us to see with what readiness and skill Christian art, still, so to speak, in its infancy, seized upon the spirit of classicism, and brought the old laws of symmetry and harmonious beauty into the service of its own ideas. The existence of such a work of art, or of the marble statue of Hippolytus in the Lateran Museum, which vies with it in beauty, is sufficient to disprove a spiteful statement which once was current, to the effect that the early Church looked on sculpture with suspicion. External circumstances alone prevented the cultivation of this branch of art during the period preceding Constantine. After his time it was extensively practised. To deal with the charge, once so frequently laid against the early Church of having discouraged art, would be on our part equivalent to the admission that all we have said above was worthless or untrue.[3]

A good piece of Christian work, still in the old classical style, is the statue just mentioned, that of the philosopher and doctor

[1] DE ROSSI, *Bull. archeol. com.*, 1889, p. 139. The inscription runs: "*Fl. Tertullus de arte sua ecclesiae donum posuit.*"

[2] DE ROSSI, ibid., p. 131. *Statua del buon pastore.* Cp. KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 226.

[3] For the myth regarding the early Christians' hatred of art, see KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 58 ff., 241. GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte*, I, 1 ff., 17 ff., the well-known canon of Elvira (an. 306), forbidding "*picturae in ecclesia*," was intended only for Spain, and was required by local circumstances. HEFELE, *Conciliengesch.*[2], I, 170. DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I., 97. FUNK, *Kirchengesch. Abh.*, I, 346 ff.

of the Church, **Hippolytus.** The seated figure, an object of much admiration, is a typical representation of a stately rhetor. A book in his right hand, his left laid upon his breast, wrapped in his many-folded pallium, he sits on a cathedra decorated with lions' heads and paws, and bearing inscribed on it a list of his works. This treasure of the Lateran Museum was discovered by Pirro Ligorio in 1551, nigh the tomb of St. Hippolytus near the Basilica of San Lorenzo. The statue belongs to the time of persecution, probably to that of Alexander Severus.[1]

284. The **bronze St. Peter** in the great Basilica of the Vatican (Ill. 133) possesses many characteristics in common with the statue of Hippolytus in the Lateran. Here too the subject is seated in the imposing attitude of the rhetor or philosopher. The right foot is haughtily stretched forward; the sandals are of the old form, fastened with straps; the mantle or pallium shows the customary folds, though here they are less graceful than on the statue of Hippolytus. The head, the right hand raised in the gesture of speaking or blessing, and the left with the keys, betray a later influence; at least their style is different, and, in our opinion, they did not belong to the original cast. The head, especially, displays a character not in keeping with the other parts, its expression of solemn grandeur being forced and overdone.[2]

The old view that this statue was recast by Leo the Great from the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus is the merest invention. Nor can anything be urged on behalf of the opinion that ascribes the work to the third century or to an even earlier date. Unhappily the past is entirely silent concerning this statue in St. Peter's; neither in antiquity nor even in the Middle Ages is it once mentioned.

The first to allude to it was Maffeo Vegio in the fifteenth century, and he too is silent as to its origin. We are thus compelled to confine ourselves to the data furnished by the work itself in deciding the approximate time of its creation.[3]

[1] Shown in GARRUCCI, Pl. 430. KRAUS, p. 230.

[2] Illustration in GARRUCCI, Pl. 429; KRAUS, p. 231. In my *Analecta rom.*, I, p. 634, I have dealt with the view of Wickhoff and others on the age of the drapery, and brought in for comparison the marble statues of St. Peter in the Vatican Crypt (p. 639), a statue of an ancient philosopher at Madrid (p. 637), and that of Charles of Anjou in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (p. 644).

[3] The ingenious inferences of Domenico Bartolini (1850), who traces the origin of the statue to Marcia Severa, wife of the Emperor Philip the Arab, are as wide of the mark as those of Torrigio (1675), who agrees with the tradition of his time, and refers it to Leo the Great.

Ill. 133.—The Ancient Bronze Statue of St. Peter in the Vatican Basilica.

Latterly many have suggested that it was cast no further back than the thirteenth century. It was urged that the seated marble statue of Charles of Anjou in the Senatorial Palace on the Roman Capitol, which belongs to that time, could be taken as proving that St. Peter's statue belonged to the same period.[1]

An impartial observer comparing the two statues can, however, scarcely deny that an immense difference exists between the coarse and really inartistic figure of the prince on the Capitol and that of the Apostle at St. Peter's. To the present writer the bronze St. Peter of the Vatican still seems to be a production of Christian art at the decline of the classical period. In it the fifth or sixth century seems to have left a trace of its spirit and taste and of its technical methods. The statue was most likely cast in one of the many ancient moulds then still existing, or possibly a statue of some philosopher was purloined to make a new mould. The original model was probably not of the best, and was no doubt rather stiff and ungraceful. To this model a new head was given with the traditional features of St. Peter. At the same time the right hand stiffly raised in blessing and the left hand with the key were also added. Finally, the statue was cast in the made-up mould.

The period in question, as is proved by its many works in metal, was quite capable of such a task. The articles of the time of Pope Hilary, for instance, of which we have already heard, and those enumerated in the *Liber pontificalis* under Pope Symmachus (498–514) show that there is nothing unreasonable in ascribing the statue to this period. On the other hand there are circumstances which actually point to the Pontificate of Symmachus.[2]

Pope **Symmachus** resided near St. Peter's, and both the Basilica and its neighbourhood were indebted to him for many embellishments. We may read with wonder of the rich silver "Confessions" and "Arches" he erected in the oratories of the rotunda near St. Peter's, which he altered into a church of St. Andrew, as well as in the oratories of the Baptistery hard by. The decoration of the **Cantharus** in the atrium of St. Peter's with figures cast in bronze seems to have been mainly his work.

[1] F. WICKHOFF, *Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst*, 1890, p. 109 ff. Kraus also (p. 231) inclines to this view.

[2] *Liber pont.*, I, 261 ff., *Symmachus*, n. 79 ff.

This decoration comprised, among other things, four bronze dolphins for the corners of the cornices of the roof. These dolphins, connected by a brass railing in the form of arcades, each rested on a marble lamb—or symbol of Christ, as they are described in the ancient description—which in turn each had a basket of bread in front of it to figure the Eucharist. The brazen roof was also surmounted by a brazen monogram of Christ within a crown of victory. As the editor of the *Liber pontificalis* justly remarks, all this work is in perfect keeping with the taste of Symmachus's time.

This fountain at the Vatican, whilst affording us fresh instances of the amount of metal-work produced at the time, shows also that bronze-casting still went on at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries, and that the bronze St. Peter may well belong to the same period. As already stated, the precise date of this much discussed work of art cannot, however, be fixed with any degree of certainty.

This very fact makes the figure appeal strongly to the religious-minded spectator. Not only does it fascinate him by its uncanny majesty, which seems to belong to another sphere, but also by recalling to his mind the long ages which have passed in procession before this statue of the Prince of the Apostles, bringing from faithful millions to the Church's supreme head on earth a tribute of reverence in the kiss they impress upon his foot.

The inscription of an ancient statue of St. Peter, probably at Pavia, boasts that Peter stands upon a Divine Rock. This text, preserved in the Einsiedeln Itinerary, was once wrongly ascribed to the statue in St. Peter's. There would, however, be no harm in quoting it here to show the idea conveyed by the figure. "Look on the Word of God, the rock shaped in gold by God; upon this rock I rest and shall never waver."[1]

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285. It has already been said that the wooden doors of Sta. Sabina, with their biblical scenes—one of the most valuable

[1] DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 33. GRISAR, *Anal. rom.*, 1, 112. What I said about the bronze statue in the *Civiltà catt.* (1898, II., 459 ff.; 1899, II., 717 ff.) was reprinted with corrections in my *Anal. rom.*, 1, 627 ff. Marucchi is for the fifth century (*Memorie degli apostoli*, 1894), and Petersen (*Mitth. des arch. Instit.*, 1900, p. 172) has recently been able to show by a comparison with other bronzes that the work belongs to the end of the classic age.

of early Christian carvings—also belong to the fifth century. Only the gross carelessness in archæological matters displayed by earlier authors can account for the want of attention shown to this masterpiece, and for its having even been ascribed to the close of the Middle Ages.

If we now again hark back to these doors it will only be to complete our previous statements and to show the position occupied by this work among the artistic productions of the Late Empire.[1]

Their design and composition are partly an obvious echo of the Catacombs, but they also witness to a progress vouched for also by the Roman sarcophagi. They likewise foreshadow in some sort the new lines into which Christian art was just beginning to venture, especially in the mosaics of the basilicas. In the parallelism of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, which these doors present, we have already a foretaste of the Middle Ages. In order the better to appreciate the artistic character of the work, let us refer to the photograph previously given (Vol. I., Ill. 78), which conveys with such truth the scene showing the Christian Empire and the ruler. In the background we see a symbolical church in the shape of a Christian oratory. The scene is given plainly and clearly enough, and even the perspective is fairly good, but the awkward, ungainly figures of the applauding nobles and commons before, or rather below, the Temple betray the hand of an artist who was already a stranger to the best traditions of Roman art. It was clearly his aim to show his figures in active movement, but he has conspicuously failed to impart the slightest life to his creations. Even heavier are the three figures on the little panel placed above, representing our risen Lord appearing to the two holy women in the garden. On the other hand, the double border which here, as elsewhere, surrounds the picture is lightly executed and in excellent taste. The classical character of the work is demonstrated by this decoration.[2]

[1] J. J. BERTHIER, *La porte de Sainte-Sabine à Rome* (Fribourg, 1892). GRISAR, *Kreuz und Kreuzigung auf der altchr. Thüre von S. Sabina*, in the *Röm. Quart.*, 8 (1894), 1–48, and in Italian in my *Anal. rom.*, 1, 427 ff. GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte*, Pl. 499 ff.

[2] Illustration also in BERTHIER, p. 54; in GARRUCCI, Pl. 500, n. VI. The first correct reproduction of the Crucifixion scene on the door is the photograph given in my article cited in the previous note. It was again given by KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 174, and SCHULTZE, *Archäol.*, p. 335 ff.

The other carving at Sta. Sabina, which, in our opinion, represents the Church militant and triumphant (Vol. I., Ill. 77), is of a vastly different stamp. It is perhaps the finest piece of carving dating from the fifth century, and would seem to be the work of a different hand than the last mentioned. Probably this scene was once the conclusion of a whole series. Above the firmament, symbolised by the sun, moon, and stars, stands the youthful figure of Christ, with an open scroll in His hand, in the centre of a huge crown of victory, between the letters A and Ω, showing Him to be the beginning and the end of all things. The head of Christ is almost an imitation of the ancient statues of Apollo, and both attitude and drapery are natural and dignified. Emblems of the evangelists, the witnesses to His Divinity, occupy the corners outside the crown ; among them the heads of the lion and eagle have a distinctly classical stamp. Below, *i.e.* on this earth, the Church, portrayed as a matron, looks up prayerfully and expectantly to her Saviour. Beside her, to represent the power and preaching mission of the Church, stand Peter and Paul, easily recognised by their usual types. Both together hold a cross within a wreath above the matron's head. A peculiar characteristic of this cross is that the head sends a small beam upwards. This would seem to symbolise the longing for things above, which is a part of the faith and hope of the Church militant. The beam in some sense connects the lower picture with that above, forming of the two one whole.[1]

We may now turn our attention to a vaster field, which furnishes an even greater wealth of materials for the history of the civilisation of the period.

Sarcophagi in the Service of Art and of Christian Doctrine

286. The custom in vogue among the better-class pagans of burying their dead in artistically ornamented marble sarcophagi was adopted also by wealthy Christians. These stone dwelling-places of the dead, with their heavy chiselled lids, were especially numerous in the extra-mural basilicas. Many of these coffins

[1] See the photograph in my article, *Kreuz und Kreuzigung*, &c. The scene betrays remarkable agreement with the picture of the Ascension in the Syriac Codex of Rabbūla in Florence (Garrucci, Pl. 139). Yet it cannot represent the Ascension, because this appears upon another panel of the door. It is more likely that the artist took his model of the church from a picture of the Ascension.

were provided with feet; others were sheltered beneath a roof supported by pillars; yet others were enclosed within barriers; many were, however, more humble, and stood simply ranged side by side. A few were brightly painted or gilt. All, however, bore inscriptions setting forth the name, and frequently also the honours, family rank, and office of the defunct. But these *viri illustres* and *clarissimi*, these consuls and ex-consuls, prefects and senators, no longer display on their sarcophagi scenes from heathen mythology or the names of the gods. Such subjects they have left to their ancestors in the mausoleums lining the *Via Appia* and other consular roads. As beseems Christian noblemen, laid to rest in the neighbourhood of Christian sanctuaries, they have had their marble sarcophagi adorned with scenes borrowed from the Old and New Testaments. Here a totally new field was opened for Christian artists, giving them an opportunity to become the most popular instructors of the Faithful.

In the inscriptions we no longer find the invocations and greetings usual in pagan times. Even the old classic formula, *Diis manibus* (D.M.), very seldom appears in these inscriptions, and when it does this may be merely a result of carelessness. Instead of such we now find on the sarcophagi consolatory confessions of the Christian faith and of the hopes it brings with it. Above all, and, so to speak, as a watchword, we find the constantly recurring expression, "In Peace." IN PACE had a double meaning: so far as this world was concerned, it signified that the departed had died in peace and in the unity of the Catholic Church, whilst, of the future life, it asserted that, through the graces of the Atonement, the dead man looked with confidence for everlasting rest. At the present day, in many cases where the sarcophagi display scenes which might just as well be pagan, this one formula, *in pace*, is the only proof that the dead man was a Christian.

Neutral emblems, offending neither pagans nor Christians, are, in fact, exceedingly common on the stone sarcophagi.

Among the decorations in most frequent use were the "victories" serving to support the tablet with the inscription or bust of the deceased; genii with extinguished torches; nereids, tritons, or dolphins disporting themselves in the sea. The Dioscuri, cupids, masks, and mythical griffins were models to be found in every sculptor's studio. No less usual were scenes from

country life—cattle at grass, the vintage, or the work of the different seasons; there were also wild-beast fights with lions or tigers, wild-boar hunts and other similar subjects. Cupid and Psyche, from the well-known pagan myth, sometimes appear upon Christian sarcophagi, conceivably as a simple symbol of the love of the deceased; the sun and moon and Great Bear are sometimes personified; likewise Uranus, bearing the canopy of heaven; the sea, the winds, rivers, and other natural objects. Yet nothing could have been further from the artists' minds than any thought of serving the gods they portrayed, or of indulging in any worship of Nature. Art, in all innocence, adopted the devices of the period, and saw no harm in indifferent symbolism. On Christian sarcophagi we may see Orpheus charming the wild beasts with his lyre (Ill. 134). To the Faithful he appeared as a figure of Christ, whose teaching had also been victorious over savagery. Ulysses, with the Sirens, was also allowed admittance as a symbol of life's journey which Christ's grace enables the wayfarer to accomplish in spite of its perils (Ill. 135).[1]

Ill. 134.—Fragment of an early Christian Sarcophagus, showing Orpheus.

One Christian sarcophagus, though only one, is known which displays an act of heathen worship—namely, a service in honour of Bacchus. In this case, however, the sarcophagus was so placed in the catacomb that the sculpture was turned towards the wall and thus put out of sight. All that could be seen by passers-by was the name of the dead man cut in the unpolished reverse of the sarcophagus. In other cases similar heathen scenes were either plastered over with a thick coat of whitewash, or simply battered out of shape with hammer and chisel. The use of such coffins could not always be avoided, for we must bear in mind that, till late in the fourth century,

[1] On Orpheus, see de Rossi, *Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1887, p. 30. On Ulysses, Kraus, *Roma sott.*[2], p. 352. The *Philosophumena* (7, 1) advises the Faithful to close their ears, like Ulysses, to false doctrines, and to cling to Christ's cross, that they may not be led astray. Cp. Maximus Taurin., *Hom.* 39 *de pass. et cruce Domini*, 1 (*P.L.*, LVII., 339). For Ill. 135, see Kraus, p. 216; *Realenc.*, ii. p. 541; de Rossi, *Roma sott.*, I., p. 30. Kraus points out that the Christian character of the work is not above suspicion, and that the monogram of Tyranius is identical with that of the city of Tyre on the coins of Demetrius Nicator (145 B.C.).

Christians were frequently compelled to procure their sarcophagi from heathen workshops, owing to the limited number of sculptors sharing the Christian faith.[1]

The ready-made stone coffins on sale in the shops had blank spaces left for the insertion of the name. Others were provided with rough, provisional masks on which the features of the dead person might be chiselled, so as to form an *imago clypeata*. In the Lateran Museum may be seen a Christian sarcophagus with some fine religious scenes, but upon which the busts of the deceased man and wife have been left unfinished (Ill. 136). Not far from this is another on which the *imago clypeata* shows signs of being a true portrait. The Christians generally were not fond of representing the dead person on his last resting-place; in this

Ill. 135.—Fragment of an early Christian Sarcophagus, showing Ulysses.

they differed from their pagan ancestors, who had been wont to place a life-size effigy of the dead shown reposing on the lid of the coffin. Among the numerous Christian sarcophagi of Rome not one has adopted this custom; a certain antipathy prevailed for exhibiting the dead.

On the other hand, deceased Christians often make their appearance in the form of orantes. This was a spiritual and figurative way of portraying them which was very much in demand in the Catacombs. The departed soul, depicted with arms outstretched, prays for the dear ones it has left on earth. When these come to pay their respects at the tomb, the figure seems to assure them that their beloved departed is ever mindful of them before God—surely a touching symbol of the indissoluble bond uniting the members of a family and all the Faithful, an idea first brought into the world by Christianity.[2]

The Good Shepherd is, however, the figure most often found

[1] Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 226, 241.

[2] Wilpert, *Ein Cyklus christologischer Gemälde in der Katakombe der hll. Petrus und Marcellinus* (1891), pp. 30–49.

on the stone coffins. When the persecutions ceased it rose with the Church from the Catacombs, and became prominent in the sculptures of memorial basilicas and of the open graveyards.[1] Christian instinct felt how appropriate this symbol was on the tombstones, face to face with the dead. The sheep borne so lovingly on the Shepherd's shoulders seemed peculiarly fitted to typify the soul of the believer, which, even in the pangs of death, commits itself trustfully to its Saviour.

Heathenism had always experienced an uneasy dread of death and of the uncertainty of what followed. Unconsciously this horror of death led pagans to deck their tombs, by preference, with bright scenes displaying most incongruously the joys of life; with pictures of wedding-feasts and of wild field-sports. Everywhere, even in his grave, the true child of heathen Rome sought to be reminded of the joys of this world, that there might be no interruption in the ceaseless round of pleasure.

Christian society considered death in a very different light. To the believer, death brought the fulfilment of his hopes—a future life of rest, peace, refreshment, and light, to which his Saviour had obtained for him admission.

Accordingly the picture of the Good Shepherd in the Christian abodes of the dead was an expressive way of showing the difference between the death of the pagan and that of the Christian. It is true, certainly, that occasionally on heathen sarcophagi we see the shepherd bearing a sheep upon his shoulders, but in such cases it is but an ornamental detail, perhaps merely a portion of some unmeaning scene from country life. The trained eye of the Christian saw in the same figure, displayed on the tomb of a fellow-believer, something much higher.

287. Passing over the many isolated symbols which a visitor observed on the tombs in the forecourts of the amburbal basilicas, let us give our attention to those scenes suggested by the Bible narrative and Christian symbolism which are most fully dealt with and most often met among these productions of Christian art.

No monuments of early Christian art in Rome have been preserved which could better aid us in forming an opinion upon the earliest efforts of Christian sculptors and the peculiarities of church-art at its commencement. In the fourth and fifth centuries

[1] KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 226, 244.

this seems to have been almost the only field in which Christian sculpture could exercise its activity, for extant works of a different scope are comparatively rare. Yet its work on the sarcophagi, being distinguished by originality, adaptability, deep spiritual insight, and great technical skill, was well able to hold its own with the best contemporary products of profane art. At the turn of the fifth and the sixth century a decline set in, which, from causes to be explained later, was so strong and rapid that it makes it all the more necessary for us to dwell a little here upon a department of art of which the efflorescence was so brief.

As a rule the sculptured decoration was displayed only on the front, the back, flanks, and lid of the sarcophagus being more simply treated. The front itself occasionally bore a scene or portrait only in the centre, the remainder of the surface being almost invariably ornamented with the well-known wavy lines (*striae*, *strigiles*). (Cp. Vol. I., Ill. 65.) The subject of the sculpture in the centre was usually the Good Shepherd; sometimes it showed our Saviour with the youthful appearance then preferred. In the latter case He is either represented alone, with the scroll of the Law-giver in His hand, or between Peter and Paul, or some other saints (cp. Ill. 81). The Redeemer is also often shown with the cross of victory in His hand, or seated upon a throne and teaching, with the lion and the serpent under His feet, in token of His supremacy. Not unfrequently in the central scene we see the deceased brought into heaven by the saints, the gates of heaven being shown by curtains. Jonas cast up by the whale is a favourite type of the Resurrection. Finally, instead of these or other images, there may simply be the monogram of Christ surrounded by the crown, figuring the triumph of faith (Ill. 140).

If such sarcophagi of the simpler sort display much correspondence with the paintings of the catacomb, still more striking becomes the resemblance in the sculptures adorning the stone coffins of the wealthy, where the fronts sometimes present whole series of representations. Occasionally so numerous are the scenes, historical or symbolic, that there is no room for them all on the front, and they are therefore continued on the flanks.

Such trophies of early Christian art may be seen and admired in numbers, not only in Rome but also in various other parts of the Roman world, especially at Ravenna and at Arles in France.

Yet no more suitable place exists for appreciating the rare elevation and creative genius of Christian art in this sphere than the galleries of the Christian **Museum of the Lateran**. There one's very surroundings, with their memories of the ancient Papal residence, are in peculiar harmony with the pleasure afforded by these works of art. At the command of Pius IX. the archæologist P. Giuseppe Marchi began in 1854 to gather together there all the most beautiful marble sarcophagi which Rome possessed. Not only his memory, but also that of those distinguished scholars Giovanni Battista de Rossi and Raffaelle Garrucci lingers in these halls, for both were greatly indebted to these monuments of Christian art in its youth and power, to which indeed they owed much of their knowledge of archæology, and which furnished them with invaluable instruments for further research.[1]

A visitor to Rome who has rambled through the Catacombs, and has made himself also familiar with the splendours of the city's basilicas, finds it easier, amidst the stately rows of sarcophagi in the Lateran, to enter into the spirit of those early times when the world was still celebrating the triumph of its deliverance from paganism.

The correspondence already alluded to as existing between the simpler artistic creations of the Catacombs and the more perfect work on the sarcophagi is apparent enough in the subjects which adorn the latter: Adam and Eve, Noe in the Ark, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Job on the Dunghill, our First Parents in Paradise, the Youths in the Fiery Furnace, the Three Wise Men from the East, &c. (cp. Ill. 136).[2]

But all these stories, as the Church increased in age, have been expanded remarkably. Thus the portrayal of Adam and Eve serves also to depict the creation of man and woman, while some Christian artists even go so far as to adopt as their model the pagan myth of Prometheus. The further history of our First

[1] Joh. Ficker, *Die altchristl. Bildwerke im christl. Museum des Laterans* (1890), p. 1 ff. O. Marucchi, *Guida del Museo cristiano Lateranense*, 1898. R. Grousset deals with the Christian sarcophagi in Rome which are not at the Lateran Museum in his *Étude sur l'hist. des sarcophages chrét.* (Paris, 1885), in the *Biblioth. des écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 42.

[2] See below, No. 290, for the explanation of this illustration. The fact that the portraits of the man and wife in the clypeus are unfinished would lead us to suppose that this sarcophagus was a ready-made one, which its buyer, for some reason or other, refrained from completing in this particular.

Ill. 130.—Sarcophagus from the Basilica of St. Paul, now in the Museum of the Lateran.

[From a photograph by Alinari.]

Parents is illustrated in such wise as to connect it with what has gone before; the Serpent-Tempter coiled about a tree; the Fall; the Promise of a Saviour; the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel. Similarly, whereas in the Catacombs Moses is only seen striking the rock, or putting off his shoes in front of the burning bush, here we find in addition scenes showing the Israelites' departure and the wonders performed before Pharaoh. Moses constantly stands as a figure of Peter and his mission. Gospel stories, especially our Saviour's miracles, also scenes with Christ in the midst of the Apostles, occur much more frequently here than in the Catacombs.[1]

The scenes upon the sarcophagi gradually become more and more historical in character.

This accounts for the fact that certain symbols much used in primitive times, such as the fish and the anchor, were little by little driven into the background, or at least deprived of their earlier significance. Other emblems, on the contrary, grew in popular favour to such an extent that they came to be used almost exclusively. Towards the close of the palmy days of plastic art, the favourite figures were vines growing out of the (Eucharistic) vase; a pair of birds, doves or peacocks, advancing from either side towards the cantharus, or vase, or monogram, or cross, and symbolising mankind seeking in God its spiritual food (see Ills. 139 and 140, cp. Ill. 145). Even upon the richest sarcophagi of the best period the historical scenes are usually drawn from an established repertory of subjects with which the artists were familiar. These we find everywhere repeated, though the handling of the subjects exhibits great diversity. Often the scenes are assembled so as to form real sculptured homilies illustrating a whole group of doctrines or else a succession of events from the Bible narrative, which explain and elucidate each other. Here, in the language of art, is a lecture delivered to the Faithful on their religion, than which, surely, no loftier task could be chosen by an artist.[2]

As the sphere of these works of art is entirely religious, the spectator will be inclined to overlook certain shortcomings in execution. In the case of many artists the deed fell short of the will, and they failed to render at all adequately the sublime ideas

[1] A. PÉRATÉ, *L'archéol. chrét.* (1892), p. 308.
[2] GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte crist.*, I, 41 ff.

undoubtedly present to them. We must not forget that Roman art was already on the wane. Another reason which should mitigate the severity of our judgment is the difficulty the artists must have experienced when obliged to cram so many things into the limited space at their disposal. On the other hand, when endeavouring to seize the meaning of the sculptures we must not look everywhere for deep symbolism or expect to find invariably any close connection between the different scenes. Recent expounders of these monuments have sometimes found more in them than there really is. It occasionally happens that scenes are strung together with no regard to any inner association, but simply to obtain a certain outward symmetry, the figures of one scene matching those of the other. Some figures, here and there, are merely stop-gaps, for, as already explained, the artists could not break loose from the conventions which ruled Roman art. Whence it happens that scenes which in deed or idea belong together, have to be sought for at quite different points of the series.

Artists had various methods of dividing the front surface of the coffins. When it was their intention to cover the whole front with their work, they were wont to divide up the surface available for this purpose. This they did by inserting either a sort of frieze running from end to end of the sarcophagus and dividing it into two, or a row of pillars which, with fine artistic effect, divided the surface into panels. The two devices were not infrequently used together, both the upper and the lower storey being broken up by arcades into compartments, each of which corresponded in size with the object to be portrayed, being large when it had to receive a whole scene, or quite small when it was to contain but a single figure, for instance an apostle.

288. The time has now come for us to study in detail some of the more remarkable types of sarcophagi, and the first to attract our notice will surely be that magnificent stone coffin in the Lateran Museum, which at one time was sheltered beneath a roof of its own (see Vol. I., Ill. 66). This roof, which rested on two exquisite marble pillars, and a copy of a picture from the Catacombs upon the wall above the coffin, give a good idea of the outward appearance and surroundings of many of the tombs in the porticoes and basilicas.

The scenes upon this sarcophagus, which form a single series, are separated by small pillars in high-relief, adorned with rich

foliage and supporting a flat entablature. In the centre of the series Christ appears as a handsome curly-haired youth; He is seated upon the vault of heaven, which is held aloft by Uranus. Supported by two disciples, He bestows the Law upon St. Peter, seen on the right; whilst on the left, St. Paul, with arm upraised, addresses our Saviour.

This principal scene, to which probably the figure in the next arcade on the left also belongs, is placed between the Sacrifice of

Ill. 137.—Side of a Sarcophagus with Christ's Prediction to Peter. Church Buildings are seen in the Background.

From a sarcophagus at the Lateran Museum. Cp. Ill. 110, and vol. i. Ill. 66. After Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, Pl. 323, fig. 5.

Isaac (Abraham with his sword) and Pilate's Judgment (Christ shown as a young man), the former scene being the type of the latter. The execution of these two latter scenes offer some points of interest and some reminiscences of classical antiquity. Thus Pilate had behind him, as a token of his rank, the *pila aurea*, upon which stood a bust of the Emperor; only a fragment of this still exists. Abraham likewise has placed his son, not upon the pile of stones and wood mentioned in the Bible, but upon an altar shaped like a marble Roman *ara*.

The sides of this sarcophagus are also sculptured. On one

two subjects are displayed: Moses Striking the Rock, *i.e.* the Old Testament type of Peter shown on the front, and the Woman with the Issue of Blood, whose cure at Christ's hands showed the Redeemer's power (Ill. 110). The sculpture at the other end is entirely taken up with Peter (Ill. 137). It shows him at the moment when Christ foretells his threefold denial, and at the same time gives him the mission of confirming his brethren as soon as he shall be himself restored to grace. This group was fitted to impress Christians with Peter's dignity rather than with his fall. The pillar, which supports the cock, separates Christ from Peter.

The background of both these scenes shows a number of edifices. They are of great historical importance, representing basilicas and rotundas, either baptisteries or mausoleums. At the summit of the cupola of a rotunda we notice the monogram of Christ. The doors display the usual drawn curtains, and the windows consist of pierced marble slabs (cp. Ill. 97).

If the artist really intended to express a single idea by all these scenes, then we may believe his object to have been the manifestation of the Church or of her power. Taken in detail, the sense would then be: the Redeemer, entering into heaven (Uranus), through His death bequeathed His power to the world in Peter. This power it is which quenches the thirst of those who thirst after righteousness—as the Israelites were satisfied in the wilderness by water from the rock—and which brings healing to a sick world, just as it cured the woman with an issue of blood. This power is potent; though Peter, on whom it was first conferred, made proof of weakness and actually denied his Saviour, yet his fall was the occasion for his receiving a Divine promise which shall never be made void. This explanation is, however, merely a possible one.

This sarcophagus was found, under Sixtus V., beneath old St. Peter's. On this spot, where it may have lain so many centuries, the scenes it bears take on a peculiar significance. The inscription, which is unknown, must have been upon the original lid, which is now lost. The artistic quality of the figures would seem to prove that the work belongs to the first half of the fourth century.[1]

[1] FICKER, n. 174, p. 117. Illustration in GARRUCCI, Pl. 323, n. 4–6. The sarcophagus comes, according to Bosio (p. 85 ff.), "*ex vaticano coemeterio*." The roof (Phot. Tuminello, n. 585), of which the upper part reminded one of the Late Middle Ages, has recently been removed. The two columns came from the ancient chapel of St. Venantius in the

289. In April 1595, in the same basilica and in the closest proximity to the tomb of Peter, the finest of all the sarcophagi of Rome came to light (see Vol. I., Ill. 13), that, namely, of the Roman City Prefect, **Junius Bassus,** who, according to the still extant inscription, "went to God as a neophyte under the consulship of Eusebius and Hypatius," *i.e.* in 359.[1]

Junius Bassus, a scion of the noble house of the Anicii, was probably a son of the Consul Junius Bassus, the former owner of the hall upon the Esquiline which Valila made into a church of St. Andrew. According to a custom far too frequent at the time, he had delayed baptism until the close of his life, and possibly his white robe of baptism was also his shroud.

The colossal sarcophagus of Parian marble which his illustrious relatives provided for his remains is some eight feet in length and five in height. The work must have been executed by one of the best Roman sculptors of the period. The execution of the ten large and six small scenes on the front is remarkably elegant. The decoration of the pillars, capitals, and friezes has also been carried out with taste and care. The arrangement is very appropriate. The large historical scenes are arranged in a double row of five, in each case the scene containing the dominant idea of the whole being in the centre. Between these two rows small symbolic scenes are so cleverly introduced that their effect, far from being disturbing, serves as a decoration to the whole. These little scenes we reproduce here[2] (Ill. 138), and their situation may be ascertained by a comparison with the illustration already given of the sarcophagus (Vol. I., Ill. 13). They are to be found above the alternating gables and shell-shaped arches which cover

Lateran Baptistery. The slab forming the lid of the sarcophagus, with loaves upon a chalice-like vessel, and anchors and dolphins, came from the cemetery of Praetextatus. The picture was a copy of the frescoes in the arcosolium of Silvester in the cemetery of Saturninus and Thraso.

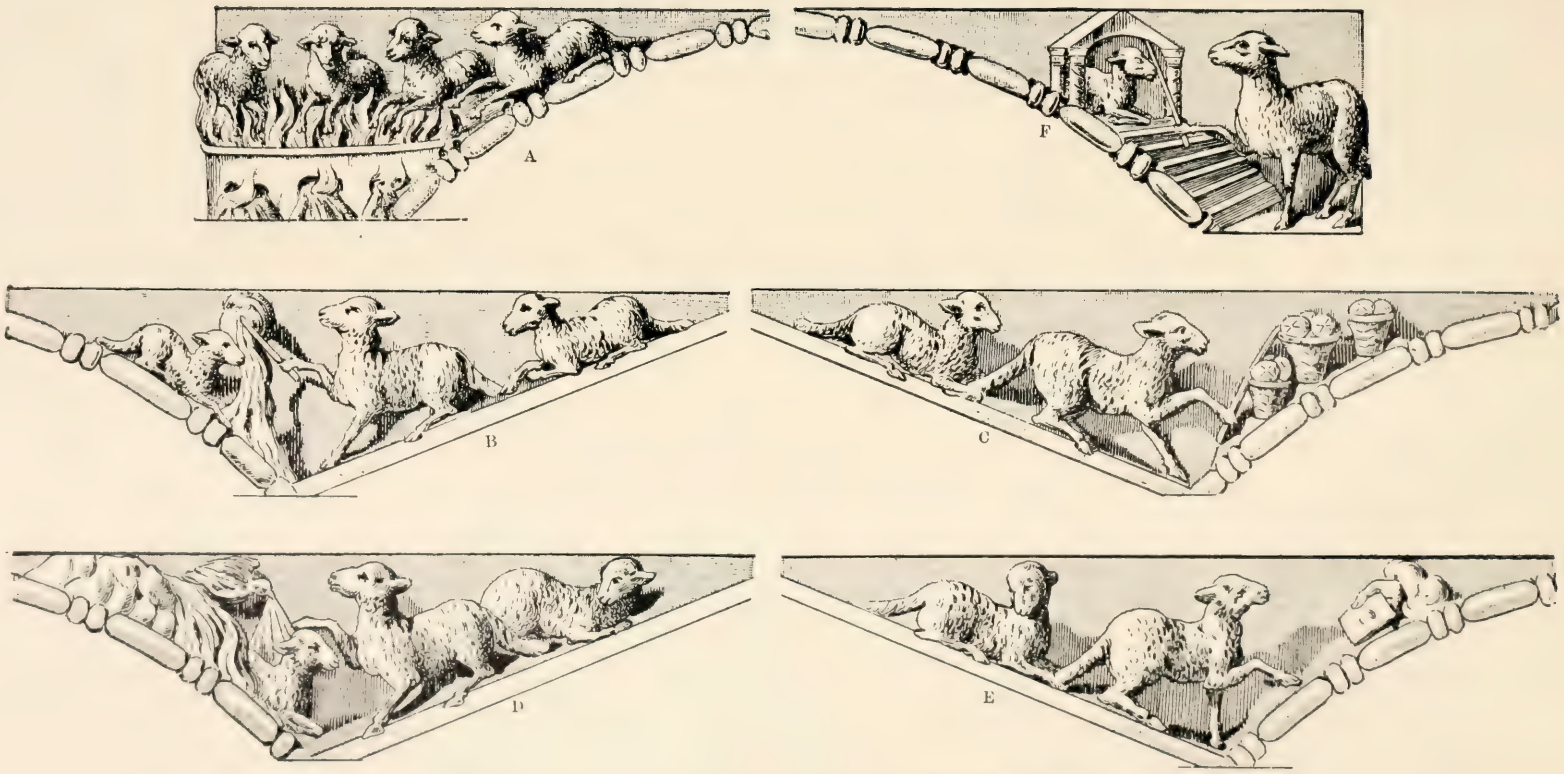
[1] Illustration in GARRUCCI, Pl. 322; cp. I, 459; DIONISI-SARTI, Pl. 81, p. 201 ff.; KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 245. BOSIO (1632), p. 45. The most modern work on the matter is that of DE WAAL, *Der Sarkophag des Junius Bassus* (1900), with 13 plates. On the lambs between the upper and lower scenes, see KRAUS, *Roma sott.*, p. 366, and PÉRATÉ, *Archéol.*, p. 320. The sarcophagus, according to ancient testimony, was found buried "*in ipsa crypta* [*S. Petri*]." See DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, I, 81; *Bull. archeol. crist.*, 1871, p. 53. The inscription reads: IVN · BASSVS · V · C · QVI VIXIT ANNIS · XLII · MEN · II · IN · IPSA PRAEFECTVRA VRBI NEOFITVS IIT AD DEVM · VIII · KAL · SEPT EVSEBIO ET YPATIO · COSS.

[2] From a drawing by the painter Tabanelli; some of the little figures which are mutilated have been restored. The scene which presented the greatest difficulty was that marked as A, which shows the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace and the Angel. I am indebted for its decipherment mainly to Mgr. Wilpert. DE WAAL, in the work previously cited, has given them on a larger scale, but according to my drawings.

the lower sculptures. These small symbolic figures express in the infant language of Christian art the very idea conveyed by the inscription above the frieze of the upper row of sculptures, viz. that the deceased by baptism had been admitted into the Church and to the possession of salvation. The symbolism of these scenes is singular in that all the actions are depicted as carried out by lambs, but among them the principal is the so-called *initiatio*, or admission of the neophyte into the community of the Faithful. This initiation consisted in an act which, though twofold, was essentially one—namely, in the reception of Baptism and the Eucharist. These two sacraments are therefore symbolised in the place of honour, viz. above the central arch: A lamb (D) receives from a dove coming from above a stream of water or of grace—symbol of Baptism; another (C) touches the baskets of bread with a staff—a well-known symbolic suggestion at one and the same time of the miracle of the loaves and fishes and of the Holy Eucharist. Scene A shows the Three Youths in the Furnace and the Angel who protected them; this symbolised the sincere confession of faith, which disregards all danger, and, at the same time, the life of faith which the baptized must live. The last group of lambs on the right (F) illustrates, by the raising of Lazarus (also a lamb), that the resurrection and life everlasting are the reward of a firm confession of faith. Two further scenes, which correspond, proclaim the twofold power of teaching and of sanctifying, divinely committed to the Church into which the catechumen is entering. Saving grace is expressed by the stream of water (B) which a lamb, symbolising Moses, brings forth to quench another lamb's thirst by striking a rock with a staff. Supernatural truth (E) is symbolised by the book given to a lamb by a hand from on high (*Traditio Evangelii, Symboli*).

These sculptures on the Christian sarcophagi accordingly speak in a language both instructive and impressive. Their very ornamentation conceals treasures of profound wisdom, and may rank among the sources of our knowledge of early Christian history and civilisation.

In the two series of larger scenes adorning this same sarcophagus, the central one in each case refers to Christ. Below He is shown in His earthly life, at His entry into Jerusalem, lowly and poor (Zach. ix. 9); above, He sits enthroned in heavenly glory above Uranus, committing the Law unto Peter, and giving



Ill. 138.—Lambs on the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

to Paul the mission of teaching. To the right of the last scene stands our youthful Saviour before Pilate, who sits on his *faldistorium* in the corner panel of the sarcophagus looking pensive and doubtful. To the left, Peter, about to suffer the same death as his Master, is being led away by soldiers, whilst in the corner Abraham is preparing to sacrifice Isaac. On the right of the central scene below, Daniel (a modern restoration) stands between the lions, and, further on, Paul, a prisoner between two soldiers; to the left is the Fall of our First Parents, a silent allusion to the promise of redemption; and then Job in his troubles, the latter, like Daniel, being an expression of the Christian's hope in a life to come.[1]

In spite of the lofty inspiration of these pictures, the realism occasionally found in them is rather startling. For instance, Job's wife, visiting her husband in his malady, passes bread to him on a stick, being careful to hold a corner of her apron to her nose lest she should be overcome by the stench. In the same way Adam and Eve are shown entirely nude in a fashion at which modern prudery might easily take offence, but which was quite common at that time. Daniel in the lions' den was probably also represented naked, conformably with artistic usage.[2]

The scene before Pilate is masterly in its fidelity to nature. The judge on his faldstool is crowned with bay, but, as his attitude shows, this is no sign of mirth. The slave standing before him, clad in the *tunica exomis*, and holding a jug and platter of genuine Roman shape, would almost seem to have been copied from some pagan scene of sacrifice. The *ara* of antique form before which Abraham is in the act of sacrificing his son also recalls heathen sacrifices. It is even supplied with the usual *patera*.[3]

Finally, in the scene of our First Parents, the allusion to their future lot is also very expressive. Adam has the sheaf of corn beside him, in token that he must in future eat bread in the sweat of his brow. The lamb standing by Eve hints that she and her daughters will have to spin wool and attend to the flocks.

[1] Mgr. de Waal endeavoured, indeed, to explain the whole work as eschatological. Such an interpretation, however, involves one in considerable difficulty.

[2] On the other hand, in the most ancient Roman representations of Daniel among the lions (Cappella Greca, S. Domitilla, Crypt of Lucina) he is shown clothed. Cp. WILPERT, *Fractio panis*, p. 3. On the nude, see GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte*, I, 51, &c.: *Nudità delle figure umane*.

[3] Cp. my article on this sarcophagus in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 10 (1896), 313 ff., with a larger photograph.

Christian art at that time was eminently suggestive. Its real strength lay far more in this idealism—*i.e.* in its spiritual conception of art—than in its material value—*i.e.* in the fidelity and elegance of its work. In many instances symbolism alone was sought. There were cases where, for a symbolic reason, one scene was made to enter another. Thus upon a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum, where Christ should be seen crowned with thorns, the crown which the soldier holds over our Saviour's head has already become a crown of victory (Ill. 139).[1] Upon the centre of this same sarcophagus the crown of victory is depicted with the monogram hanging in classic style from the beak of an eagle. The crown rests upon a cross, on the cross-beam of which doves are perched, and stretch forward towards the crown. Below, at the foot of the cross, two soldiers are mounting guard, just as at our Saviour's tomb. The whole is a representation of Christ's resurrection, thoughtfully composed of elements partly symbolical and partly historical.[2]

A curious combination of scenes occurs upon another sarcophagus, where, before Pilate, instead of the person of our Saviour, we find Isaac about to receive the death-blow from his father. A common and simple device of the artists was to substitute Peter, or even Christ, for Moses in the scene of the striking of the rock. Christ also appears performing miracles which in fact occurred in different places and on different occasions. For instance, on a single scene He is shown healing the man born blind and the woman with an issue of blood; or He multiplies the loaves whilst granting the petition of the woman of Canaan.

An utter contrast to these artistically conceived productions are the common playful scenes we often find upon the flanks of the sarcophagi. The stone coffin of Junius Bassus, described above, is a good instance in point. Looking at the two sides, one feels oneself transported into the secular art of those days. Graceful winged genii and small naked urchins are busy at pastoral work; on the left is the vintage, on the right we see the changing seasons figured in action. There may, of course, be here an allusion to the harvest of eternal reward and to the

[1] From a photograph by Alinari. Cp. KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, p. 133. The end scene on the right shows Pilate about to wash his hands; two slaves with utensils of classical shape attend on him; in the background is the prætorium.

[2] PÉRATÉ, p. 318, fig. 211. KRAUS, *Rom. sott.*, p. 361, fig. 61.

Ill. 139.—A Sarcophagus at the Lateran. In the Centre, the Resurrection symbolised; to the Left, the Carrying of the Cross and the Crowning with Thorns; to the Right, Christ's Arrest and Condemnation.

alterations of a lifetime, but it is quite certain that this was not intended in every case where such scenes are found.

290. Rather less ancient than the sarcophagus of Bassus is the enormous marble coffin in the Lateran Museum, of which the sculptures have been described by de Rossi as an epic of Christian doctrine (Ill. 136).[1]

At the top to the left it shows the creation of man by God the Father. The Creator is supported by two figures, which can only signify the Son and the Holy Ghost. Next to this we see the Fall of our First Parents in the garden and the promise of the Redeemer. The fulfilment of this promise is depicted below on the left, where the Three Wise Men appear worshipping the Divine Child held by Mary in her lap, while behind her—an unusual thing—the Holy Ghost is again depicted in the form of a human being, He having effected the Incarnation. Christ, the New Adam, corresponds to the First Adam; the Three Wise Men, as first-fruits of mankind restored to Christ, correspond to the first-fruits of fallen human nature.

The scene portrayed beside the three Magi of the healing of the man born blind is very significant. The two scenes explain each other. The world, sunk in blindness after the Fall, receives the light it seeks through the Child lying in Mary's lap and worshipped by mankind.

To the right of the sarcophagus we see, above, the miracles and deeds of Christ, and, below, the corresponding miracles and deeds of Peter.

Christ turns water into wine and miraculously multiplies the loaves. Both miracles are symbols of the Holy Eucharist. And as, in accordance with Christ's words, "He that eateth my flesh . . . hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up in the last day," the last scene in the upper row is the raising of Lazarus.[2]

In the lower series Peter continues the work of Christ. First he receives from Christ, with the prediction of his fall, an assurance that he will afterwards be unswervingly constant; then he proves the strength of his faith when taken prisoner by the Jews;

[1] De Rossi, *Bull. archeol. crist.*, 1865, p. 70. Cp. Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst.* 1, 237, fig. 192; *Roma sott.*, Pl. VII. Garrucci, Pl. 365, n. 2. Ficker, *Altchristl. Bildw. des Laterans*, p. 39 ff. Marucchi, *Guida del Museo crist. later.*, p. 26 ff., Pl. 2.

[2] John vi., 52, 55. The Church makes use of this Gospel in the Mass of the Dead (*Missa quotidiana defunctorum*), thus establishing the connection between the Eucharist and the doctrine of the Resurrection, a connection much insisted on in early Christian art.

finally, like another Moses, he strikes the rock and gives water to believers thirsting for salvation. The features leave no manner of doubt that it is the same person who strikes the rock, who is led away captive by the soldiers, and who stands beside the cock and receives the prediction. On all three occasions Peter is shown with a staff in his hand. This staff, when it is introduced in the performance of a miracle, betokens the power of working wonders; otherwise it is the emblem of authority and government. As Peter was working no miracle during his denial or when taken prisoner, it could there stand only as the staff of government, the symbol of the power over the Church with which Peter was invested.

These scenes from the history of Peter are separated from the others in the lower row by one of Daniel among the lions, supplemented by some other figures. As de Rossi remarks, this prominent position in the centre must have been assigned to the scene because it sums up, so to speak, all the truths expressed elsewhere. Daniel is here the type of the suffering Saviour, and at the same time of the redeemed and expectant Church.

This magnificent sarcophagus, with its suggestive doctrinal illustrations, adorns the inside staircase of the Lateran Museum. It strikes one particularly by its enormous undecorated lid, and the unfinished likenesses of the married couple inside the clypeus on the front. This work of art was found close to the Confession at St. Paul's on the Ostian Way. There the coffin had been buried—though probably not before the latter part of the Middle Ages—just as had been done with that of Junius Bassus in St. Peter's.

291. Most of the sarcophagi which were in basilicas or their fore-courts stood exposed to view; very few indeed can have been buried.

It may be mentioned here that in the fifth century as yet only basilicas outside the walls (St. Peter's and St. Paul's were among the number) could serve as depositories for the dead. Roman law, which forbade intra-mural interments, first began to be less stringently enforced at the beginning of the next century.

The most handsome and artistic sarcophagi made a brave show in the oratories and mausoleums which people of wealth and rank erected for themselves near the basilicas. Maffeo Vegio, in the fifteenth century, tells us of a remarkable mausoleum

of this sort, dating from early Christian times, which stood behind the Vatican Basilica. This mysterious spot so near the tomb of Peter arouses our interest.

It was a building erected by the Anicii to contain their sarcophagi. Vegio found its size more suitable to a church than to an oratory. In the interior a row of columns topped by marble decorations went round three sides of the edifice. The mausoleum, then quite neglected and unvisited by any one, adjoined the centre of the apse of St. Peter's. As we know from other sources, throughout the Middle Ages it was a belief of the populace that Peter had once lived there, and that a table and the marble seats then visible had been used by the Prince of the Apostles. In point of fact it is more likely that this marble furniture had been supplied by the Anicii for use at the Christian funerary banquets.

When Vegio visited this monument its fate was unfortunately already sealed. It was the first to be demolished in the course of the erection of the new church of St. Peter under Nicholas V.

Vegio, with great diligence, read the inscriptions which were upon the frieze surmounting the columns. The long epigraphic texts, written in distichs, according to his copies, contained the epitaphs of Sextus Petronius Probus and his wife Anicia Faltonia Proba. This famous Probus was Prætorian Prefect in 368, and in 371 was Consul conjointly with the Emperor Gratian.[1]

During the excavation of the soil under this mausoleum in the progress of the building operations the splendid marble coffin was found which had contained the body of this illustrious Roman and, probably, that of his wife also. Another superb sarcophagus, showing the giving of the Law to Peter and other scenes, was also recovered thence. The sarcophagus of Probus, which had never been previously opened, further yielded many articles of gold and also some costly robes. The gold found, instead of being treasured, was simply melted down and then made into a precious chalice adorned with gems.

The epitaph of Probus is a testimony to the faith and trust of its time. In one passage it manifests a striking similarity with the present formula used in prayers for the dead. The words

[1] Text: *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., n. 1756; cp. n. 855; DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 348; also in *Acta SS. Iunii*, tom. VII., Append., ed. PALMÉ, p. 71* (VEGIUS, *De basilica vaticana*, l. 4, n. 106 ff. The Oratory is shown on Alfarano's plan (DE ROSSI, l.c., 229), under *l*.

now used, "May eternal light shine upon him," are there paraphrased as follows: "Mayest thou enjoy new light; Christ is thy light."[1]

The sarcophagus itself can, even now, be admired in St. Peter's. It has experienced many vicissitudes, but at any rate it was spared the fate which in Rome overwhelmed so many sarcophagi equally richly ornamented; it was never utilised as a horse-trough. It served as an ornament in the Baptistery of St. Peter's until 1694. Then after having remained a long while in a corner of the basilica near the chapel of the Crucifixion it was, in our own day, taken out and installed in the chapel of the Pietà, opposite the so-called holy pillar, upon a suitable pedestal.[2]

The front is divided into five compartments by spiral marble pillars. In the middle, Christ as a youth stands upon a hill, whence gush forth the four symbolic springs. In His right hand He holds a cross set with jewels, and in His left the scroll of the Law. Peter and Paul support Him. Under each of the four other arches stands an apostle, made known by the roll he holds, each with a companion. The series of apostles is continued upon either side, each of which has three compartments.

The married couple are shown in the centre of the back surface, which is far less ornate. Probus is clad in tunic and pallium, and bears in his hand the diploma by which he was invested in his office. His wife Proba appears in the long-sleeved matron's stole, and from her head a mantle falls like a veil over her shoulders.

The palmy days which could produce such works were not, however, to endure.

292. It has already been remarked that during the fifth century the art of sarcophagus-sculpture in Rome came to a sudden end.

Not only did the sculptures, once so fine, become clumsy, but stone coffins of any shape or kind became scarce. Whereas sarcophagi in the fourth century, and even to the first half of the fifth, were so numerous that even now, after centuries of wreck and plunder, we still find fragments of these splendid works scattered over the ground above the catacombs of Callistus, Prætextatus,

[1] "*Luce nova frueris, lux tibi Christus adest.*"

[2] Garrucci, Pl. 325. A. Busiri-Vici, *La colonna santa ed il sarcofago di Probo Anicio* (Roma, 1888), Pl. 3.

Domitilla, Cyriaca, and elsewhere, those dating from the second half of the fifth century become increasingly rare. In the sixth century another and simpler mode of burial was becoming everywhere the rule, namely, to inter in simple graves. Rome's decline after its capture by Alaric must have been responsible for this. The political decay which then set in, and the insecurity of burial-places outside the walls, must have combined to ruin the art of sarcophagus-making ; the extinction of this craft is therefore but one more expression of the distress of the age.[1]

A few centuries later it even became a custom in Rome to use over again for the burial of the Christian dead, sarcophagi decorated with undoubted heathen scenes. The dread which such an action would have caused Christians in former days was out of place, now that all trace of heathenism had vanished from society. No danger being apprehended of a revival of paganism, Christians were no longer compelled to be on the defensive against it. On the contrary, they were beginning to look upon heathen works of art as spoils of victory, with which they could demonstrate the triumph of Christianity over heathendom. Heathen scenes were also now no longer fully understood. What, however, generally led to the employment of heathen sarcophagi was the wish to house in a suitable resting-place the remains of illustrious dead, coupled with the inability of later ages to produce anything even remotely resembling such works of art. The time will come when the remains of highly venerated saints will be concealed behind sculpture showing a Caledonian hunt, a bacchanalian procession, or some scene from Roman or Greek mythology. But while in Rome the art of sarcophagus-making was expiring with astonishing rapidity, it was experiencing in Ravenna a certain revival. Under Theodoric the Goth and his successors it was patronised in this new metropolis, and the Byzantines in turn took it into favour when, at the close of the Gothic domination, they re-established their supremacy.[2]

Ravenna at the present time still possesses a large number of Christian sarcophagi in its venerable churches. In their treatment these reflect in some sort the early tradition and prove that the Christian art of Rome was transplanted to the capital of the

[1] De Rossi, *Roma sott.*, III., 447 ff.
[2] De Rossi, l.c., 453. Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, 251 ff. Schultze, *Archäologie*, p. 258.

Gothic kingdom. They exhibit, however, peculiarities which deviate from all previous types. Above all we note the decreasing use of historical scenes; the presence of large, long-armed crosses in high-relief and of huge monograms of Christ; a favourite design is now the vase or *cantharus*, on each side of which animals are seeking food, and a few other well-worn symbols. As an instance we may cite the sarcophagus of Archbishop Theodore. This work goes back beyond the Archbishop's own time, and was, as the position of the inscription shows, converted to his use only by an afterthought (Ill. 140). The celebrated sarcophagus, also at Ravenna, of the Exarch Isaac is another similar case. It is, indeed, a fine characteristic work of the school of that city, but was executed long before Isaac's time.

Ravenna has also furnished us with the name of a sculptor or purveyor of sarcophagi. This was a certain Daniel, whom Cassiodorus, the Ostrogothic statesman, praises for his artistic skill and rewards with a diploma authorising his business. He must have been a sort of wholesale dealer, as he seems to have produced his marble direct from the quarries. The only other *marmorarius* of whom we know that he carved sarcophagi was named Eutropos, and was probably a man of less importance. We find this artist represented upon his own sarcophagus in the Museum of Urbino. With the help of an apprentice, he is busy at a sarcophagus with two chisels at a time.[1]

Artistic Representations of the Church and of St. Peter's Office

293. The symbols used in Rome to betoken the Church and the Primacy were so many and varied that our subject demands that we should give some attention to these illustrations of Christian doctrine.

The Church as a rule appears as a matron wearing the *stola matronalis*, and veiled with a mantle.

It is thus that we saw her on the door of Sta. Sabina praying with outstretched arms between Peter and Paul. In the interior of that same basilica she is twice found in the same dress and attitude upon the mosaics near the entrance, once described

[1] On Daniel, see CASSIODORUS, *Varia*, 3, c. 19. For Eutropos and a figure of the sarcophagus in the Museum of Urbino, see PÉRATÉ, p. 295.

Ill. 140.—Sarcophagus of Archbishop Theodore (677–691) in Ravenna.
(After a photograph by Alinari.)

as "Church of the Circumcision," and, again, as "Church of the Gentiles." There can therefore be no doubt as to the symbolic meaning of the matron. In the two pictures last mentioned she holds an open book in her left hand and raises her right like a teacher.[1]

Sometimes, however, the Church is depicted, more simply, as an orante.

It was formerly the rule to go further than facts warranted in seeing representations of the Church in these orantes. Even when an orante bore the name of one deceased, it was declared to be a symbol of the Church. The truth is that in such cases we must see in the orante an idealised portrait of the departed, praying in the beyond for those he or she has left behind. It is, however, a different matter when orantes have no name attached, and are found under circumstances which exclude any allusion to the dead, but which allow of an application to the Church.[2]

This, for instance, is the case with the most ancient sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum, a work of exceptionally beautiful classical design. It is one of the few which certainly date from the period previous to Constantine, and probably belongs to the time of the Antonines, *i.e.* to the latter half of the second century. On this masterpiece, which hails from the Christian cemeteries on the Salarian Way, an idealised orante is placed in such association with the Good Shepherd that she can be taken only as our Saviour's Bride, *i.e.* as the Church.[3] Even then Christians were wont to call the Church "Virgin and Mother" (*virgo et mater*).[4]

The figuring of the Church as a woman was quite usual in primitive times. This is evident from the imagery and comparisons used for the Church in the "Shepherd" of Hermas; in the so-called second homily of St. Clement;[5] and, in some sense too, in the epitaph of Abercius, where Pistis (Faith) is personified as a woman, who accompanies the Christian bishop upon his

[1] GARRUCCI, Pl. 310. See present work, vol. i., p. 135.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1872, p. 39; WILPERT, *Ein Cyklus christol. Gemälde*, p. 33; and, with a different interpretation, *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1899, p. 23; cp. above, p. 153, note 1.

[3] See illustration in DE ROSSI, 1891, Pl. 2–3; cp. p. 55 ff.; MARUCCHI, *Guida del museo later.*, Pl. 3; KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, p. 240. A similar combination will be found in GARRUCCI, Pl. 371, fig. 2.

[4] "*Virgo mater, sponsa Christi*," thus in the legend of SS. Nereus and Achilleus; cp. DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I, p. 348.

[5] FUNK, *Opera Patr. Apost.*, I, p. 161 ff.

wanderings, and everywhere in the assembly of the friends sets before him the Eucharistic Fish.[1]

The custom of delineating the Church as a woman in prayer passed into the figurative language of the Middle Ages. Upon the miniatures decorating the tenth and eleventh century scrolls of the Paschal hymn Exsultet, which is sung on Holy Saturday, an orante is sometimes depicted near the words *ecclesia mater*. Moreover, upon mediæval works the Church very often appears as a virgin in a posture of faith and trust at the foot of the crucified Saviour, whilst the Synagogue, also figured as a woman, turns away in pride and unbelief from the Cross.[2]

Another very frequent figure of the Church is a ship. This symbol, also an ancient one, held its own in the Middle Ages.

On Roman and Italian sculptures of the early Christian school we may see Christ in the ship at the helm, while the Apostles—and in one instance also the Evangelists, expressly designated by name—are rowing. Sometimes a lighthouse is visible on the shore, to remind us of the haven of life everlasting. Sometimes under the ship appears a dolphin, which figures our Saviour, and bears the Church upon its back. Again, a fish occasionally accompanies the ship, and carries the Eucharistic bread in its maw. Finally, the ship may be seen in a storm, carrying those within it in safety, whereas those without are tossed by the waves and fall a prey to the elements. This is but a figurative way of expressing the truth that outside of the Church there is no salvation. Something similar is also signified by the oft-recurring scene of Noe in his Ark.[3]

St. Maximus of Turin, a contemporary of Pope Leo and Pope Hilary, in one of his homilies, concludes with these words a lengthy explanation of the ship of Peter: "Christ sails in that ship alone, which is navigated by Peter as teacher. . . . This ship travels over the high seas of this life, and while the world is

[1] It would be wrong to cite in this connection the mosaic in the Oratory of St. Venantius, near the Lateran Baptistery, for the feminine figure to be seen there is neither symbolical nor the portrait of some consecrated virgin in episcopal pallium, but wears the *mappula*, a vestment frequently found in pictures of our Lady. Cp. *Analecta rom.*, I, p. 552. On Abercius, see present work, vol. i., p. 317.

[2] Cp. the figure in the upper portion of the *Exsultet* scroll (tenth century) of the *Biblioth. casanatensis* in Rome, in LANGLOIS, *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.*, 1886, Pl. 8; cp. p. 476; WILPERT, *Nuovo Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1899; DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1891, p. 63.

[3] WILPERT, *Realencykl. der christl. Alterth.* (KRAUS), 2, p. 731; DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1868, p. 77 ff.; 1870, p. 53 ff.; 1871, p. 125.

Ill. 141.—A Sarcophagus of the Lateran. To the Left, Peter strikes the Rock; his apprehension; receives Christ's promise. The remainder shows wonders wrought by Christ.

overwhelmed in the flood, it saves all those who trust themselves upon it. . . . When the waters of the deluge had subsided, a dove brought to Noe in his ark the emblem of peace. Christ also brings blessed peace to the Church of Peter, when the Day of Judgment comes, for He is the Dove; yea, He is Peace."[1]

On the work alluded to above as including also the Evangelists, our Saviour, clearly designated by His name "*Iesus*," stands at the prow of the ship. According to de Rossi's well-founded supposition, at the stern, now broken away, sat St. Peter with his hand on the rudder. In another scene Peter is discovered in a ship with Christ, busily engaged in catching fish.[2]

294. So far as the representation in Roman art of the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, is concerned, we have already mentioned some of the commoner types: Peter is the counterpart of Moses in that he obtains water by striking the rock (Ill. 141);[3] on two early Christian fragments of gilt-glass the figure of Moses striking the rock actually bears the name PETRVS (Ill. 142).[4] Again we find Peter receiving from Christ, with the prediction of his weakness, the office of confirming his brethren. He is also represented with the staff of authority; for instance, on the ivory pyx in Berlin, where, for the sake of

Ill. 142.—Moses—Peter.
Gilt-glass in the Vatican.

[1] *Serm.* 114: *De mirabilibus* (*P.L.*, LVII., 721 ff.).

[2] On the fragment showing the prow, see DE ROSSI, l.c., 1871, p. 127; on the other ship, see ibid., p. 128. Cp. GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte*, 6, 105, on the Lamp of Valerius, which also takes the shape of a ship. See vol. i. Ill. 14.

[3] Photograph by Tuminello of Rome. In the middle is the healing of the paralytic, who is carrying his bed; to the right the cure of the man born blind, the miracle of Cana, and that of the loaves.

[4] KRAUS, *Roma sott.*[2], p. 339 ff., Pl. 6, fig. 2.

greater clearness, the staff is shown as a club (Ill. 143).[1] Especially frequent is the scene in which Christ bestows on Peter the scroll of the law (*Dominus legem dat*). This last scene is found even on a picture in the Catacombs.[2]

Wherever St. Peter is represented with other saints or apostles which is frequently the case both in the Catacombs and elsewhere, he always occupies the place of honour. When shown in such groups he has under his feet a stool or *suppedaneum*. It is worth noting in this connection that in ancient art the *suppedaneum* was a royal emblem.[3]

In the time of Leo the Great, Neon, Archbishop of Ravenna, had Peter represented on two large pictures, which served as a decoration to the refectory of his new episcopal residence. On one was shown Peter's call to convert the heathen, *i.e.* his vision of the linen sheet let down from heaven with all manner of unclean animals; on the other, Peter, surrounded by the other apostles, was receiving from the hand of God coming from on high the Law of the New Covenant. As late as the ninth century, Agnellus, the Ravennese historian and presbyter, was still able to decipher the old inscription in hexameters placed by Neon under the two paintings. In these verses he sings the praises of Peter, set up by our Saviour to be a light for ever among the apostles—Peter, that stable foundation of God's House, who makes the Church to shine in light and might; who tames the rough hearts of men with the doctrine of truth, and teaches all Christians to live in harmony.[4]

295. On old pictures St. Peter is often shown with a cross,

[1] Photograph taken with the kind permission of Mgr. Baumgarten from *Die katholische Kirche* (Leo-Gesellsch., 1899, p. 3). Previous illustrations of this pyx are not to be trusted.

[2] In the picture from the Catacomb of Priscilla, made public by Wilpert in de Rossi's *Bullettino* (1889, Pl. 7; cp. p. 23 ff.).

[3] Peter's taking of the first place among the apostles reminds us of the *ducatus* of the apostolate which an anonymous successor of St. Peter (in the work *De aleatoribus*, which cannot be later than the third century) ascribes to himself. Cp. present work, vol. i., p. 310. On the fifth-century terra-cotta scene of the Last Judgment, in the Museo Barberini in Rome, of all the apostles, Peter alone is seated on Christ's right, and has a *suppedaneum*. Cp. KRAUS, *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1892, p. 1 ff.; GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte*, 1, p. 383, on the faldstool or *faldistorium* and high *predella* occupied by Peter in the scene of the Washing of the Feet.

[4] AGNELLUS, ed. HOLDER-EGGER (*Mon. Germ. hist., Script. rer. lang. et ital.*, p. 293). In the penultimate stanza of the second poem we follow Garrucci (1, 510) in reading "*unum omnes*" instead of "*tu omnes*": "*Bis senos inter fratres in principe sistis | Ipse loco, legesque novae tibi dantur ab alto, | Quis fera corda domas hominum, (quis) pectora mulcis | Christicolasque doces unum omnes esse per orbem. | Iamque tuis meritis Christi parat gloria regnum.*"

Ill. 143.—Peter with the Staff.
(From a pyx in Berlin.)

which sometimes assumes the form of the monogram, but occasionally has the usual shape. This cross, placed in his hands, is "the banner of the Church's kingdom, whose standard-bearer and leader Peter is."[1]

Dracontius, a Christian poet from Africa, who flourished towards the end of the fifth century, bestows on Peter some titles which read like a commentary on those pictures in which he is seen with the cross. Dracontius speaks of him as the "standard-bearer of the sublime cross, the God-appointed captain of nations without number." A bronze statuette in Berlin, which displays St. Peter holding aloft a cross-monogram out of all proportion to his size, would seem to represent him as standard-bearer of Christ's kingdom.[2] On a medal, which may have been struck in the fifth century, Peter is holding the cross-monogram whilst he receives from Christ the scroll of the Law.[3] This medal would seem to have been intended to be worn, the round holes with which it is pierced being no doubt designed to enable it to be sewn on to some article of dress. The custom of thus wearing medals is one which can be shown by other proofs to have been prevalent in the early Church. In all likelihood in Rome itself such medals of St. Peter were in great demand, especially among the pilgrims.

To mark the high esteem in which St. Peter was held, early Christian art was also wont to depict him as the chief shepherd feeding his sheep.

On a mosaic of the Roman Basilica Pudentiana, for instance, he was to be seen seated between two sheep, which he is watching. The inscription of the mosaic in question showed that it belonged to the pontificate of Pope Siricius, *i.e.* to the fourth century. In

[1] De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1869, p. 45.

[2] W. Bode, *Die ital. Plastik* (*Hdb. der königl. Museen zu Berlin*, 1891, p. 1, 3); Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I, p. 232. The statuette is not quite four inches in height. There can be no doubt that it does represent St. Peter. Professor Müller, in an address to the Roman Congress of Christian Archæology (April 1899) pointed out that it may have formed a part of a bronze lamp, and instanced certain resemblances with the lamp of Valerius (present work, vol. i., Ill. 14), which is adorned with similar statuettes. The work, which may belong to the fourth century, is also interesting, as it shows the features then attributed to the Prince of the Apostles. For Dracontius, see his *Laudes Dei*, 3, 217 ff. *P.L.*, LX., 857.

[3] De Rossi, *Delle medaglie dell' età della pace e del trionfo*, in *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1869, p. 43, fig. 4. In St. Peter's an ancient, richly-adorned Christian sarcophagus beneath the altar of Popes SS. Leo II., III., and IV. presents, among other scenes, one in which Peter receives the Law from Christ, holding a cross-monogram fixed on a long staff.

this picture the Apostle would seem to have been seated on a *cathedra*, in token of his authority. His head was encircled by a nimbus, which at that time was not allowed to every saint, but only to our Redeemer, and occasionally to our Lady and the Princes of the Apostles.[1]

On the font at St. Peter's the Apostle may also have been depicted as a shepherd—at least there is a temptation to follow Garrucci in reading thus a passage from Prudentius in which the poet describes how Peter at this spot leads the thirsty sheep to water.[2]

The ushering into heavenly bliss of the souls of the departed is a function often attributed to the saints by early Christian art. It is, however, deserving of notice that for this purpose the saints chosen are usually the Princes of the Apostles; in such scenes Peter appears as the heavenly doorkeeper, to whom the keys of heaven are committed, and Paul as his inseparable companion.

Not until comparatively late, *i.e.* apparently not before the fifth century, did it, however, become usual for artists to place in Peter's hands the keys alluded to in the Gospel. Neither in the paintings of the Catacombs nor on the fragments of gilt-glass, where Peter is so frequently found, do we ever see that picture of him with the keys of which later art was so fond. The bestowal of the power of the keys is, however, shown as an historical scene on the sarcophagi, though more frequently on those of Southern Gaul than on those of Rome.[3]

The whole right hand portion of the front of a sarcophagus in the crypt of St. Peter's is devoted to the Prince of the Apostles. In the compartment at the end Peter is receiving the keys from Christ, shown as a youth; to mark his reverence, he accepts them, not with his naked hands, but in the hollow formed by his pallium, which he holds spread out between his arms. In the next arcade his fall is predicted by Christ, and he receives the office of confirming his brethren. In yet another compartment he is seen holding a tall cross and approaching Christ, who, with His left hand, offers him an open scroll in token of his office. A peculiarity of this scene is formed by the sheep surrounding the hill

[1] The old drawing of Ciacconio (Cod. Vatic., 5407, p. 82) was printed by DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch crist.*, 1867, p. 43. Cp. ibid. concerning a picture of St. Domitilla.

[2] *Peristephanon*, 12, 43, *P.L.*, lx., 564; GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte*, 1, p. 401. Cp. *Anal. rom.*, 1, p. 92, an inscription in the Vatican Baptistery.

[3] KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, p. 247.

on which Christ stands, and from which a number of streams take their rise. This portion of the picture signifies the spiritual benefits conferred by the true Divine Shepherd, who is about to create Himself a vicar in the supreme pastorate.[1]

As to the mosaic of Galla Placidia, on the Triumphal Arch of St. Paul's, we should not be justified in adducing it in this connection. It is true that on it Peter holds in his hand the keys; but, as already explained (see above, p. 75), his portrait, like that of St. Paul with the sword, is a later restoration.[2]

On the other hand, in the mosaic of the Arian church of S. Agata in the Subura, adorned by Ricimer, the keys belonged to the design of the early artist. They were borne by Peter on his hands, which were covered reverently by his pallium. A counterpart of this figure is to be seen even now in Ravenna, in the mosaic erected by Theodoric, the Arian King of the Goths, in the Baptistery of S. Maria in Cosmedin. On the picture of the Ascension in the Syriac codex of the Laurenziana in Florence, a work belonging to 586, Peter again has the keys in his hand; he, too, alone among the Apostles, bears a high cross.[3]

With both cross and keys Peter appears on the mosaic of Pelagius II., in the Roman Basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le mura, and on that of John IV. in the chapel of St. Venantius in the Lateran Baptistery. Finally, we must not forget the great bronze statue in the Vatican Basilica of St. Peter with the keys, which, as we said before, most likely belongs to the fifth or sixth century.[4]

On all these representations, with the exception of the Syriac codex, the keys are always of the ordinary shape with which we are familiar to-day, and which they assume even in the bronze statue of the Vatican. Hence there is no justification in the contention that the form of the key shows the statue in question to be of later date, seeing that the early Church was well acquainted with keys of the present shape.[5]

[1] GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte*, Pl. 330, fig. 5.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, *Arco di Placidia*.

[3] The mosaic of S. Agata, in GARRUCCI, Pl. 240, n. 2, after the sketch in the Vatican codex of Ciacconio, n. 5407; present work, vol. i. Ill. 21. S. Maria of Ravenna, in GARRUCCI, Pl. 241. The picture from the Laurenziana, ibid., Pl. 139, n. 2.

[4] The mosaic of San Lorenzo is in GARRUCCI, Pl. 271; DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, *San Lorenzo*. That of San Venanzio, in GARRUCCI, Pl. 272 ff.; DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, *S. Venanzio*.

[5] In the Christian Museum of the Vatican the originals of some such keys are preserved.

We may fittingly close our sketch of the old representations of St. Peter by quoting a suggestive passage from Optatus of Mileve. This advocate of unity against the African Donatists wrote as follows in the fourth century: "For the sake of unity was Peter exalted above all the Apostles; he alone received the keys of heaven that he might communicate them to the rest. . . . There were many who had never faltered, and yet one alone, he, namely, who had offended the Lord by his sin, received the keys." Optatus accordingly lays stress on the fact that the keys were not given to Peter out of consideration for his deeds, but solely for the sake of the Church's unity.[1]

Primacy and Oneness, such is the twofold idea everywhere seen and felt in the history of the Church and Papacy. This same idea will loom very large in the storms which Rome and Italy have to traverse at the commencement of the Middle Ages.

[1] Optatus Milevitanus, *De schism. Donatist.*, 7, 3. *P.L.*, XI., 1087.

II.—ROME AND THE POPES DURING THE GOTHIC DOMINATION IN ITALY

CHAPTER I

THE POPES DURING THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE GOTHIC KINGDOM IN ITALY

Pope Felix III. (483–492)

296. Odovacar's rule in Italy was not destined to endure. Another Germanic chieftain came with his brave followers to overthrow it

Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, in agreement with the Emperor Zeno, assembled an army at Novae (Szistowo) in Mœsia (488), and set out for Italy, accompanied by his whole nation. Once more that afflicted country was to experience the horrors of foreign invasion. "A whole people," writes a contemporary, "came down upon us; for houses they had caravans, and everything they could lay hands on they swept into their vagrant tents."[1]

In the art of war, in generalship and in numbers the Ostrogoths were superior to the mercenary leader, Odovacar, and the Italians under his command. In battles on the Isonzo and at Verona Theodoric was victorious, and in 490 or 491 the city of Rome, like the rest of Italy, was compelled to accept his sway. Ravenna alone, protected by its walls and the sea, still offered a shelter to Odovacar and the remnant of his forces. For three years he defended himself there with heroic courage. Not until March 5, 493, did the fortress capitulate. John, Bishop of Ravenna, acted as envoy, and was successful in securing favourable terms for Odovacar. "He opened the gates of the city," writes Agnellus, the Ravenna chronicler, "and went forth accompanied by priests and clerics, with crosses, censers, and the gospel-books, to demand terms of the oppressor. The band chanted psalms and bowed down to the ground in supplication. Bishop John's wish was granted: not only the inhabitants of Ravenna, but all the

[1] Ennodius, *Paneg. Theodorici*, ed. Sirmond, p. 963.

Romans, were promised quarter. Then followed the surrender of the city."[1]

But although Theodoric had promised Odovacar his life and freedom and a share in the government, he, soon after, slew him with his own hand, for he was anxious to govern Italy as sole ruler. His residence he fixed at Ravenna, and not in Rome, nor did he make his entry into Rome until the year 500.

The foundation in Italy of the Ostrogothic kingdom was as much due to the crafty policy of the Byzantines as to the energy and talents of Theodoric. The inhabitants of Eastern Rome had always considered Odovacar in the light of a usurper, and it was merely to displace him that the Emperor Zeno had called the Ostrogoths into Italy. He hoped to reap advantage from the struggle between his two dangerous foes. As a matter of fact, Theodoric's retreat from Mœsia did relieve Constantinople, the eastern capital, from the standing terror caused by the presence in its neighbourhood of the warlike Goths. Even when Theodoric had proved victorious, he continued to acknowledge Zeno as Emperor, governing Italy only as the representative of the Roman Emperor. Under his capable rule the administration of the country was improved; the soldierly qualities and discipline of his race, added to the strength of this popular ruler, and his impartial justice and kindly treatment of the Romans reconciled the country to its fate.

This alteration in the conditions prevailing in Italy began under the pontificate of Felix III. (483–492), and was completed during that of the great Pope Gelasius (492–496).

297. Of Felix III. we have already stated that he was a member of the Roman family of the Anicii, an ancestor of Gregory I., and Leo the Great's third successor on the throne of Peter.

His pontificate was disturbed not only by the downfall of Odovacar's kingdom, but also by a violent persecution of the Catholics, started by the Vandal King. Theodoric and his Ostrogoths were indeed Arians, but they respected the Catholicism of their Italian subjects; only towards the close of his life did Theodoric become a persecutor. On the contrary, among

[1] AGNELLUS, *Liber pont. eccl. Ravenn.*, ed. HOLDER-EGGER (*Mon. Germ. hist. Script. lang. et ital.*), p. 303: "*pax illa ab eo cuncessa est, non solum Ravennenses cives, sed etiam omnibus Romanis, quibus beatus postulavit Iohannes.*"

the Vandals in Africa, who had never associated on friendly terms with the native Roman population, the flames of hatred and persecution of the orthodox Romans blazed forth fiercely under King **Hunneric,** the son of Genseric, especially at the beginning of the pontificate of Felix III.

Hunneric hoped to strengthen his hold on the country by compelling the natives to adopt the Arian tenets. He fancied that an Arian National Church, subservient to the King, would be the best guarantee for the persistence of the Vandal domination in Africa. But the blood which he shed in torrents had the opposite effect; it prepared the way for the shattering of the Vandal kingdom, which had in reality never emerged from barbarism. Victor Vitensis, author of a history of this persecution, revolted by the sight of their cruelty, addresses the Vandals as follows: "You are capable of nought but of hating the Romans; all you desire is to degrade their nation and race, and you would fain exterminate every citizen."[1]

During that persecution, steadfast Catholics to the number of 4976 were, in a single year, despatched into the desert, where they perished from hardship and want. The bishops were banished to islands, especially to Corsica, where they were forced to fell wood for ship-building. In many cases Catholics heroically suffered death or mutilation in proof of the strength of their religious convictions. An envoy of the Emperor Zeno was able to see for himself how the blood of the Faithful was shed with refined cruelty even in the streets of Carthage.

This the envoy saw when actually on his way to Hunneric's palace, whither he was proceeding, under his sovereign's orders, to endeavour to obtain a respite in the persecution. According to Evagrius, Zeno had been begged by Pope Felix III. to use his influence on this behalf with the Vandal King, a statement which seems credible. The misfortunes of the African Faithful and their bishops must have touched Rome's heart no less than the plight of Italy, ravaged by war, and the ominous dissensions of the Eastern Churches.[2]

As soon as the storm in Africa had subsided through Hunneric's death in 484, Pope Felix turned all his attention to the

[1] Victor Vitensis, *Historia persecutionis vandal.*, 5, c. 18. Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrét.*, 1, p. 182 ff.
[2] Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.*, 3, c. 20.

spiritual welfare of the distressed population. Among other matters it was necessary to settle the conditions for the readmission of Catholics, whether lay or clerical, who had fallen away. This was done by the Pope at a Roman Synod held in 487, and attended by forty-three bishops.[1]

Felix regarded the future of the East with great apprehension. Belief in the Church's oneness was there waning fast under the influence of the Acacian schism. On the other hand, the fatal principle of the omnipotence of the secular sovereign in all domains, both civil and religious, was making triumphant headway. It will be sufficient for our purpose to recall the cause of the schism: this was the *Henoticon* issued by the Emperor Zeno in favour of the Monophysites. This led to the excommunication of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, by Pope Felix in July 484, in consequence of the Patriarch's attitude towards the heretics. The name of Acacius has ever since remained attached to the prolonged schism between Old and New Rome which was the result. In language worthy of an ancient Roman, the Pope fearlessly pointed out to the Emperor how ill his conduct befitted such a sovereign, and how unfortunate it was for the unity of the Church, for the dignity of Peter, and even for the welfare of the Empire.

"Your Highness has informed me," so he writes on August 1, 484, "that my detailed exposition of the truth proved both tiresome and irritating. Well, I shall now use fewer words, but I shall repeat the truth." The letter goes on to show the injustice of maltreating and misleading the Papal legates. Ambassadors sent by St. Peter had been refused the safe-conduct guaranteed by the law of nations. Once for all the Holy See would never recognise a heretic like Peter of Alexandria. "Since You find my admonitions wearisome, I leave it to You to decide which you hold dearer, communion with Peter Mongus or communion with Peter the Apostle. . . .[2]

"I must, however, point out to You one fact. The highest power in temporal matters has been bestowed upon You, together

[1] Council of March 13, 487, in THIEL, *Ep. rom. pont.*, p. 259; MANSI, 7, 1171; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., *Regesta rom. pont.*, p. 82.

[2] THIEL, l.c., p. 247; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., l.c., n. 601.

with the obligation of leaving the direction of spiritual affairs in the hands of those whom God has appointed for this purpose. Your Government has everything to gain by allowing the Catholic Church to govern itself in accordance with its own laws; especially bearing in mind that it has already helped You to regain Your crown [from Basiliscus]. Where God's ordinances are concerned, You will be considering the interest of Your Empire in submitting, according to God's institution, Your Imperial will to the priesthood; in receiving with faith, without seeking to preach it Yourself, the doctrine of salvation from the heads of the Church; in observing the laws of religion without forcing civil ordinances on the Church, to the dishonour of its Divine Founder."[1]

Felix III. died March 1, 492. He was not interred in St. Peter's, the usual burial-place of the Popes of that day, but in St. Paul's on the Ostian Way, most probably because his family was closely connected with this church. He was succeeded by Gelasius I., who seems to have been consecrated on the same day.[2]

Pope Gelasius I. (492–496)

298. The principles expressed by Felix in his letter to Zeno were unswervingly upheld by Gelasius against both Zeno and his successor Anastasius.

This Pope, a man of strong character and great perspicacity, owing to his many writings dealing with the questions of the Eastern Church, and his learned treatises on various heresies, became both the theologian and the historian of the struggles of that day. In consequence of his character, and perhaps of his African descent, his literary style has more vigour than that of

[1] . . . *Regiam voluntatem sacerdotibus Christi studeatis subdere, non praeferre, et sacrosancta per eorum praesules discere potius quam docere*, &c. Cp. with the language used by Felix III. in his other letter to the Emperor (THIEL, p. 270; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 612): "*haec ergo . . . tamquam sollicitus* pater, *salutem prosperitatemque clementissimi* filii *manere cupiens diuturnam, fidenter imploro*," &c. At that time we often find the Popes in their letters calling the Emperor their son. Cp. Gelasius to the Emperor Anastasius (THIEL, p. 350; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 632): "*quia, gloriose fili, et si ut Romanus natus Romanum principem amo, colo, suspicio*," &c. Felix III. writes to Bishop Vetranio (THIEL, p. 276; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 615), that he should give good advice to "*domno filio nostro christianae meritis Augusto*," the Emperor being "*praecipuus sacrae religionis filius*."

[2] DUCHESNE (*Liber pont.*, I, cclii.) dates the death of Felix III. more accurately than JAFFÉ (2 ed., I, p. 83). In the chronology of the ensuing pontificates the more recent calculations of Duchesne in his edition of the *Liber pontificalis* are to be preferred.

his Roman predecessor ; he seems also to have been filled, even more than Felix, with the consciousness of the plenitude of power he owed to Peter. Against the Greeks, Gelasius was emphatic in upholding the doctrine vouched for by the whole of tradition, viz. that the confession of the Apostolic See is unassailable ; "that it never will be deformed by any stain of false doctrine or any contamination of error ; for if such a thing could happen to us," he continues, "which we are firmly convinced never will, how could we claim to resist foreign heresies, and whence could we expect admonition for other wanderers from the path of truth ?" [1]

But while formulating these principles and demanding obedience from the highly placed ringleaders of the Greek schism, he never forgets to pay them the respect due to their rank, writing to them with the greatest deference. Even in his dealings with so narrow-minded and tyrannical an Emperor as Anastasius, who succeeded Zeno, this courtesy did not fail him ; for after Anastasius's accession, and at the Emperor's request, he sent him a friendly letter.[2]

Some bishops who strove to persuade the Pope to take over-indulgent measures were quietly enlightened as to what the Acacian schism meant. For instance, he explained to the Dardanian Episcopate how necessary and well-justified was Rome's demand that the schismatics should cease from honouring the memory of Acacius, the excommunicate. Among other things he says : "If the schismatics obstinately insist on bestowing on the leaders of the faction favouring monophysism and the Henoticon the liturgical honours of the diptychs, they become partakers in these fatal errors of faith, and are doing their best to poison Catholic truth by heresy." [3] Not even the admission of the

[1] *Epist. ad Anastasium August.*, n. 6 (THIEL, p. 353 ; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 632). A. Roux justly points out (*Le pape Gélase*, 1880) that the strongest testimonies to the moral ascendancy of the Primacy at that time are to be found in Gelasius. He quotes (p. 79) a passage from the *Defensio declarationis cleri gallicani*, ascribed to Bossuet : "*. . . quo nullus pontificum de suae sedis amplitudine magnificentius dixit.*" Some passages from Gelasius were incorporated by the Vatican Council in the Constitution *De ecclesia Christi*, particularly in those portions of the Constitution which relate to the Primacy of the Holy See.

[2] This letter was cited in the previous note. In this letter is found, amidst many exhortations, the famous passage : "*Duo quippe sunt, imperator auguste, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur : auctoritas sacrata pontificum et regalis potestas. In quibus tanto gravius est pondus sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus hominum in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem*" (THIEL, p. 350 ff.).

[3] *Epist. ad episcopos Dardaniae* (THIEL, p. 335 ff. *Collectio Avellana*, ed. GUENTHER [*Corpus SS. eccles. lat.*, 1895], Pars I., p. 220 ff. JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 623).

Primacy of Peter by his Greek opponents availed to turn him from his purpose.[1]

One special grievance against the Greeks was their obstinacy in claiming for the See of Constantinople its usurped pre-eminence. Like Leo the Great and Damasus, Gelasius repeatedly entered the lists on behalf of the "second See," as he called Alexandria, and of the third, which was Antioch. These two, so he laid it down, and not Constantinople, followed immediately after Rome in rank. The Imperial Court, as Gelasius argues, had resided at Ravenna and Milan, at Sirmium and Treves, yet the bishops of these places never tried to exalt themselves at the expense of their brethren, as the Bishop of Constantinople would fain do, because he lives under the shadow of the Imperial Palace.[2]

In Italy and in the West generally, in spite of the ruin consequent on the immigration of the barbarians, the Pope saw better grounds for hope and comfort than in the East. To Bishop Rusticus of Lyons he opened his heart, in 494, when expressing to him his joy at the unity and charity of the Gallic Bishops; he invites him to share his sorrow over the East: "What pain, what persecution oppresses us on account of the business of this godless man Acacius. In spite of it all we stand firm; amid all this affliction we do not yield; fear does not make our courage sink. Though anxious and harassed, we rely upon Him who may allow us to be tried, indeed, but never overcome." This letter he despatched by Epiphanius, the saintly Bishop of Pavia, who was then about to start for Burgundy on a mission to King Gundobald; Theodoric, the kindly King of the Ostrogoths, was desirous of redeeming from this sovereign some of his prisoners of war.[3]

299. Though Theodoric remained an Arian, he treated the Church with great fairness. The Gothic chieftain showed unfailing respect for Roman law and Roman civilisation. To him Gelasius could turn with entire confidence whenever such rights of Peter's successor were called into question as had been recognised by Imperial law.[4]

[1] Cp. letter of Felix III. (THIEL, p. 270; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 612) on the acknowledgment of the Primacy by the Patriarch Flavita (Phravitas) of Constantinople: "*ad beati Petri apostoli sedem suae refert dignitatis exordium . . . Petrum* petram fidei *esse non tacuit*," &c.

[2] In another letter to the Bishops of Dardania: THIEL, pp. 392 ff., 414 ff.; GUENTHER, p. 369 ff.; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 664. [3] THIEL, p. 359; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 654.

[4] THIEL, p. 489. JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 722; cp. n. 641, 652. Other passages in SCHNÜRER, *Die politische Stellung des Papstthums zur Zeit Theoderichs*, in the *Hist. Jahrb.*, 9 (1888), 263, 264.

The Bishops of Italy, too, stood by the Church's head during their country's distress. From Gelasius they received the fullest instructions regarding the appointment of priests in the devastated and often almost deserted districts. One letter to the Bishops of Lucania, Bruttium, and Sicily dealing with ordinations and other ecclesiastical matters holds an important place in canon law.[1]

One consoling feature in this Pope's work was his readiness to protect right and freedom, and the poor from oppression, at a period when violence and greed seemed everywhere rampant, even in clerical circles.

Gelasius did not think it beneath him to place before his bishops, and even before secular grandees, their duty of caring for widows and orphans. The first letter of the series recently discovered in the British Museum contains a recommendation of a widow named Antonina to three bishops, requesting them to give her the protection of the law (*tuitio*), and adding that "nothing better becomes the priestly office than defence of the weak and helpless."[2]

Not only did Gelasius constantly dispense alms to the needy, but, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, on one occasion "he saved the city of Rome from the danger of famine." Of this fact we have no further information, but it would be reasonable to suppose that the chronicler refers to some larger gift than usual made for the sustenance of the poor, and consisting of alms or a portion of the revenue of the Church's patrimony. This help may have been afforded on some occasion when, as was sometimes the case, the usual *annona* of the city failed to be distributed in time owing to the vessels laden with corn being scattered by a storm. On some such occasion a certain faction among the nobility, deeply attached to ancient customs, had superstitiously called upon Castor and Pollux for a prosperous voyage, but the gods had, however, failed to hearken to their prayers. Gelasius himself it is who points this out to the devotees of heathen rites.[3]

Castor and Pollux were not alone in retaining some adherents

[1] THIEL, pp. 360–379. JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 636.

[2] LOEWENFELD, *Epist. rom. pont.*, 1; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 629.

[3] DUCHESNE (*Liber pont.*, 1, 256, note 6) quotes on the famine a passage from Gelasius's work against the Lupercalia (c. 8, THIEL, p. 603): "*Castores vestri certe*," &c. The letter of Gelasius to Bishop Rusticus of Lugdunum (Lyons) (THIEL, p. 359; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 634) also seems to contain an allusion to the trial and to the help afforded by outside charity: "*quam in arcto fuerimus . . . quam utile fuerit et quod misit* [*Aeonius, episcopus Arelatensis*] *et quod ad nos misisti, subsidium.*"

in Rome, for the Senator Andromachus and other tenacious votaries of ancient Roman custom even ventured to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Pagan *Lupercalia*. It is true the *Lupercalia* were no longer regarded in the light of a heathen act of worship, but as superstitious rites they had survived to that date. On February 15, the traditional day for the celebration, youths (*luperci*) clad in skins still ran about the city as of yore to scare away the wolf of ill-luck. Amid all sorts of wild frolic, they struck the women they met with their sacred whips, the blow being credited by the foolish with the power of conferring fertility. The procession was called *Lupercalia*, because it started from the fabled Lupercal, the well-known cave on the Palatine. The whips were called *februa;* as these were supposed to avert evil and bring health through purification, the expression *februare* became synonymous with "to purify"; whilst February (*Februarius*) was the month of purification.

Such traditions accordingly still survived under certain forms in the fifth century. The folly of the *Lupercalia* even assumed some importance under the Emperor Anthemius, for their celebration in his reign has been specially recorded. It must, however, have ceased about that time, for it is noticeable that in the pontificate of Gelasius, what Andromachus and his friends proposed was no mere continuation of the ancient festival, but its re-introduction.

Their reason for seeking to re-establish it was the outbreak in Rome of a pestilence which they ascribed to the discontinuance of the *Lupercalia*, which, without further ado, they again brought into vogue. Under these circumstances Gelasius thought it time to put a stop once for all to this folly, for the claim to make the festival a popular one was too provoking to be borne. The Bishop of Rome accordingly issued an order prohibiting the Faithful to take any part in the ceremonies.

He further attacked these rites and those who observed them in a special work which has come down to us. Among other things, he reminds his opponents that their beloved *Lupercalia* had never afforded the city any protection against the great calamities which had overtaken it. When Alaric advanced on Rome, when civil war between Anthemius and Ricimer laid waste the city, were not the *Lupercalia* still observed? Not only does he demonstrate the foolishness of this relic of paganism, but, as a

good shepherd of souls, he points out that the reason of the Divine displeasure and of the frequent calamities of the city might well be sought in the heathen customs and heathen vices still prevalent among many Romans.[1]

According to a view very generally received, Gelasius about this time instituted the feast of the Purification of our Lady (Candlemas), with its procession, in order to offer a counter-attraction to the Pagan procession of the *Lupercalia*. This view cannot, however, be proved historically. This festival of Mary, with its characteristic accompaniment of the candles, was adopted by Rome from the East; when, no one knows. It is first mentioned as existing in Rome in the seventh century. Ætheria, however, found it already kept in Jerusalem in 386, though on February 15 (14), *i.e.* forty days after the Epiphany, the Eastern Christmas, and not on February 2, as in the present Roman calendar. In Cyril's time the feast was observed in Alexandria with a procession in which candles were carried. Theodotus of Ancyra seems also to vouch for a similar custom. As, however, February 15 was also the date of the heathen *Lupercalia*, some connection may quite well exist between one festival and the other.[2]

According to the *Liber pontificalis*, the watchful eye of Gelasius detected the existence of Manichæans in Rome, though this sect was strictly forbidden by law. He had them expelled, their books being burnt in the porch of Sta. Maria Maggiore. In acting thus he was but following in the footsteps of Leo the Great. He also showed great zeal against the Pelagians, who had again appeared on the scene in Picenum and in Dalmatia.

In what concerned faith and morals Gelasius was indefatigable in watching, warning, and stimulating the episcopate belonging to his province. The numerous excerpts of this sort from his letters, which found their way later into canon law, show him in the light of an active legislator in many fields.

300. The memory of Gelasius stood so high, even in the

[1] *Adv. Andromachum senatorem*, &c. THIEL, p. 598 ff. GUENTHER, p. 453.

[2] Cp. DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte*[2], pp. 260, 461, and *Liber pont.*, I, 381, note 43. BÄUMER, *Gesch. des Breviers*, p. 300. NILLES, *Calendarium*, I, 91. USENER, in *Philosophische Aufsätze zu Ehren von E. Zeller*, 1887, p. 286 ff. CABROL, *Étude sur la "Peregrinatio Silviae"* (1895), p. 78. STIGLMAYR, *Katholik*, 1895, I, 566, on MIGNE, *P.G.*, vol. LXXVII., 1040–1049, 1389–1412. KELLNER, *Heortology, a History of the Christian Festivals* (Engl. trans.), p. 175. On Cyril, see *P.G.*, LXXVII., 1040 ff. On Theodotus, ibid., 1389 ff. Cp. *Vita S. Theodosii coenobiachae*, *P.G.*, XXXIII., 1186.

period immediately following, that he must needs be accorded a place of honour, second only to Leo the Great, among the fifth-century Popes. That we should be justified in giving him such a position is clear from what we know of him from other sources and also from his writings, which reflect a vigorous, comprehensive, and profound understanding. The Pope's character is spoken of with warm appreciation by the learned Dionysius Exiguus in a letter which heads his collection of laws. What he has here gleaned from contemporaries and pupils of Gelasius bears the stamp of truth and is no mere stereotyped official formula, such as those with which we have so often to remain content in the case of early Popes.[1]

"A saintly disposition animated him," says Dionysius. "He accepted the highest place in the Church by God's will for the salvation of many. In it he behaved more as a servant than a sovereign. Together with the ornament of purity he possessed profound wisdom. This man lived in prayer, reading, and study, and, when necessary, would even pen documents with his own hand. He found much pleasure in the society of monks. In his spiritual conversation with them he was inflamed with holy love and sunk in the contemplation of God's Word. . . . He was also noted for his prudence and patience. Mortification and fasting he preferred to pleasures, pride he vanquished by humility, and so devoted was he to deeds of mercy that he died in poverty, after relieving countless poor." Dionysius continues his praise, extolling Gelasius as a man "great even among the saints," as a Pope who had seen in the honour of his supremacy only a crushing burden, whilst regarding the slightest neglect of his office as an omission to the detriment of souls for which he would have one day to answer.[2]

Gelasius was the most prolific writer of all the Popes who had reigned hitherto. His homilies on the Bible and the Liturgy have not come down to us, nor have his hymns and other works. He wrote a Sacramentary, or at least composed prayers and prefaces to improve the wording of the Mass. The so-called *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* cannot, however, be termed his work, owing to the many alterations and additions. Besides the numerous letters and decrees already mentioned, we still possess

[1] Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 256, note 5.
[2] *Ep. ad Iulianum presb.* (THIEL, p. 286 ff.).

several treatises by Gelasius on the heresies and schisms of his day; for instance, "Against the Heresy of the Pelagians," "On the Penalty of Anathema," "On the Two Natures in Christ against Eutyches and Nestorius"; finally, two tracts on the Acacian schism. The Pope died, full of merit, on November 21, 496, and was buried in St. Peter's.[1]

Pope Anastasius II. (496–498)

301. The lamentable schism between old and new Rome induced Gelasius's successor, Anastasius II. (Pope from November 24, 496, to November 19, 498), at the very beginning of his pontificate, to make the furthest possible advances in order to bring about reconciliation and reunion.

He sent two bishops to Constantinople with a very deferential letter, in which he notified his accession to the Emperor, and at the same time requested in a friendly way that Peter's supremacy over the whole Church should be acknowledged, Acacius's name expunged, and Alexandria brought under the sway of orthodox doctrine. He declares therein that the baptisms and orders conferred by Acacius would readily be acknowledged as valid in Rome.[2]

In this condescendence Anastasius went beyond anything done by his predecessor Gelasius. The latter had of course been willing enough to accept Acacius's orders, but, for special reasons, he had refused to take the initiative of sending to the Emperor a letter of greeting.[3] He had also avoided any intercourse with the Patriarch of the Court, preferring to await events.

Pope Anastasius, on the other hand, at least sent verbal messages of peace to the Patriarch of Constantinople. His

[1] An allusion to the biblical and liturgical homilies is seen by Duchesne (*Liber pont.*, I, 257) in a codex of Gennadius at Verona (XXII.), where it is stated that Gelasius "*scribsit . . . tractatus diversarum scribturarum et sacramentorum delimato sermone.*" On the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, cp. BISHOP, *The Earliest Roman Mass-Book*, in the *Dublin Review*, 1894, II., 245 ff. On the titles of the treatises of Gelasius, which, until Thiel's edition, were inserted in the Pope's epistolary, see THIEL, p. 1011.

[2] *Ep. ad Anastasium imp.* (THIEL, p. 615; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 744). As regards the principal cause of contention, he says: "*Nomen taceatur Acacii, quod multis ex causis scandalum vel offendiculum ecclesiarum concitavit.*" He clearly and strongly condemns Acacius's "*excessus atque praesumptiones*" (THIEL, p. 617 ff.).

[3] GELASIUS, *Ep. ad Anastasium imp.* (THIEL, p. 349; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 632): "*quum directi de partibus orientis vel videndi me licentiam sibi vestris praeceptionibus abnegatam tota urbe disperserint.*" On the later conduct of Pope Gelasius, cp. Schnürer's remarks on his letter to the Senator Faustus Niger in the *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1888, p. 259.

envoys even found ways and means in the Greek capital to come to an understanding with the apocrisiaries of the schismatic Patriarch of Alexandria, and the latter promised the legates to justify himself to the Pope in a document which he would entrust to them.

These demonstrations of goodwill towards the separated Easterns on the part of Anastasius seem to have caused great annoyance to a certain section of the higher clergy of Rome—a common phenomenon in the history of the Popes. A new Pope will frequently seek to heal previous dissensions, the change in the person embodying the supreme power, making this easier to accomplish in the Church than in a temporal kingdom governed by dynastic traditions. The efforts of the new Pope in such cases are, however, very likely to prove offensive to the supporters of the previous policy.

Anastasius II., besides taking the measures we have mentioned, entered into communication, greatly to the dismay of his friends, with the See of Thessalonica, which then stood under a cloud. In that region the Acacian schism had found vehement advocates and patrons, particularly in Andrew the Archbishop. On the arrival in Rome of his deacon, Photinus, sent as an envoy, people with amazement saw him honourably received by the Pope and admitted to communion. Such people had either never learnt or had forgotten that Andrew had already made amends in public. He had published, both in his own and in the neighbouring dioceses, a letter of reconciliation which he had received from Gelasius, and had besides solemnly anathematised Acacius. The choice of his deacon Photinus as envoy to Rome was, however, not fortunate, for he seems to have been wanting in discretion, and to have made false statements among the Roman clergy regarding the conditions laid down for his bishop's reconciliation. A certain senator named Festus, himself inclined to give Byzantium more than its due, also seems to have contributed to the misunderstanding of the course of action taken by Anastasius.[1]

Thus, in the very bosom of the Roman Church, a strong party was found to withstand their own bishop. The enemies of Anastasius believed that he had needlessly swerved from the

[1] On Festus and his intrigues in Constantinople, see SCHNÜRER, ibid., p. 267.

stern attitude of the two previous Popes, and that the Church would suffer for his policy of weakness. It was even spread abroad that the Pontiff, in his zeal for peace, would, after a while, revoke the condemnation of Acacius.

His episcopal envoys had scarcely returned from Constantinople, and discontent was yet rife among the clergy of the city, when the Pope's death terminated his brief pontificate.

At the next election the rightful choice fell on the deacon Symmachus, a Sardinian, who was consecrated November 22, 498. At this election the Roman clergy were not, however, unanimous, one small faction refusing to concur, and ultimately setting up an antipope, in the person of Lawrence, the archpresbyter.

The supporters and followers of the antipope were only a fraction of the clergy, consisting mainly of short-sighted men who were over-disposed to peace, and who had really expected Anastasius to subscribe to the *Henoticon*. They now fixed their hopes on Lawrence. This party was, however, ultimately obliged, as we shall see, to yield to Symmachus.

Symmachus on his part dealt sternly with the Greeks, who had already shown their unreliability and love of schism.

302. The cloud resting upon the memory of Anastasius II. was responsible for the one-sided view taken of him by some later members of the Roman clergy. Of it we find the traces even in the statement of the author of the *Liber pontificalis*, who brings a formal charge against Anastasius II.: "The Pope secretly intended to restore the memory and honour of Acacius, but this he was not allowed to do; he died, overtaken by the judgment of God."[1]

This statement of the Pope's insincerity is an untruth. It is disproved by official documents, of which the author of those lines was ignorant. His allusion to the speedy death of Anastasius as a Divine punishment may have met the views of some of his contemporaries, but it has no foundation in fact. The short notice in the *Liber pontificalis* had, however, an unexpected result in later ages. The book, with all its defects, was in mediæval times the principal source of the history of the Popes. Its comments on Anastasius were accordingly accepted without hesitation as

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 258, *Anastasius*, n. 75: "*voluit occulte revocare Acacium et non potuit; qui nutu divino percussus est.*"

authentic, particularly after they had been incorporated bodily by Gratian in his famous collection of laws.[1]

The chroniclers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were not satisfied even with this. A Pope who had sought to betray the Church must needs have died a shocking death, Martinus Polonus, Amalric Augerii, and Bernard Guidonis therefore make Anastasius die the same sudden death as Arius, being found dead with his bowels protruding. Dante even gives the unfortunate Pope a place in hell, where an inscription above his place of torment proclaims that "Photinus had tempted him from the path of rectitude." Later theologians, on their side, made the act of treachery of which they fancied Anastasius guilty a pretext for dealing with all kinds of theoretical questions regarding the relations of the Church with her chief pastor. They placed this Pope on a footing with Liberius, who, they believed, in all sincerity but quite wrongly, had sided with the Arian Emperor Constantius. In both cases their mistake arose from their reliance on the incorrect statements of the *Liber pontificalis* and other doubtful authorities. Investigation has put all these statements in their true light.[2]

Historians have certainly accomplished an honourable task in disproving these and such like fables of the Middle Ages.

It is useless to deny that fables and legends have often obscured our pictures of the past. They date from a period when there was but little inclination for criticism, and when want of critical apparatus, the absence of books and mental intercourse threw writers helplessly back on the spurious statements handed down by former ages. For this reason a historian can scarcely exercise too much caution, particularly when he comes across certain startling and exceptional facts, such as are met in the parchment books of mediæval scholars.

In excuse for the misjudgments of past times, let it, however, be said that, even at the present day, historians busy with the Middle Ages are by no means safe from forged documents, fabricated in modern times and then ascribed to the past, to its advantage or otherwise.

One such document is actually met with in the history of Pope

[1] Gratian cites the story in his *Decretum*, dist. 19, c. 8.

[2] MARTINUS POLONUS, &c., see DOLLINGER, *Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*², p. 150.

Anastasius. Multitudes of people have read with admiration and pleasure the epistle sent by the Pope to Chlodovec, King of the Franks, baptized at the beginning of his pontificate. In it he congratulates the King and the Church that so great a ruler with all his people had been caught in the net of Peter the Fisherman. With prophetic intuition, he hopes that the Frankish nation will in the future form the especial protection of the storm-tossed bark of Peter. Now, recent research has established beyond the shadow of a doubt that this letter, first found among the papers of the Abbé Jérôme Vignier in the seventeenth century, was invented and forged by this scholar, who was well versed in ancient style. Vignier had done the same with other documents, concerning the authorship of which there can no longer be the slightest doubt.[1]

In the study of history we must expect surprises, perhaps even more than in other fields of positive learning. It was only in 1866 that an indubitably authentic letter of Anastasius II. to the Gallic episcopate was made public for the first time, after having been found in a seventh-century MS. In this the Pope condemns with the utmost precision as a heresy the doctrine that the soul of man originates in the act of procreation, and is not the result of a direct act of God. Until then no such authoritative settlement of the question was known, and indeed for some time after the discovery of this document theologians who had not heard of it were content to establish by other means the theological certainty of the doctrine of the soul's creation.[2]

Further on an opportunity will occur of dealing with a whole series of spurious legends and forged fragments from the commencement of the sixth century. These apocryphal documents made their appearance after the death of Anastasius II., during the struggle for supremacy between Symmachus and Lawrence, the antipope. Later they were very widely circulated, and caused

[1] The letter of Anastasius appeared first in d'Achery's *Spicilegium*, 3, 304. On it see J. HAVET, *Questions mérovingi*, II., 1, 1, pp. 258, 261 ; GRISAR, *Anal. rom.*, 1, 47. The letter is still treated as genuine in THIEL, 1, 623, and in JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 745 ; see, however, in JAFFÉ, 2, 693, the Addenda. Recent efforts to defend it have failed.

[2] The document, discovered by v. Maassen, is reproduced in an article by Tosi in the *Oesterr. Vierteljahrsschr. für kath. Theol.*, 5 (1866), 556. Thiel gives it, p. 634. The above decision was not known to Jos. Kleutgen when he wrote in the Innsbruck *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 6 (1883), 197 ff., his article on the origin of the human soul. He refers (p. 229) to a decision by Benedict XII. (†1342), in an epistle to the Armenians, which had also been entirely overlooked by theologians. Cp. the Innsbruck *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 7 (1884), 236.

no little confusion in historical accounts. Such were the "Deeds of Pope Liberius," the "Deeds of Pope Marcellinus, or the Synod of Sinuessa," the "Purgation of Pope Xystus III.," the "Charge of Polychronius, Bishop of Jerusalem," and certain documents ascribed to Pope Silvester. No one now denies that these are forgeries. Quite recently it has been maintained, most unfairly, that they were concocted for the purpose of bolstering up the pretentions of the Popes. We shall see elsewhere, however, that they were really of a perfectly harmless character.[1]

[1] JANUS [DÖLLINGER], *Das Papstthum* (1892), p. 22; *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*[2], p. 58 ff.

CHAPTER II

THEODORIC, RULER OF ROME, AND POPE SYMMACHUS

The First Years of Symmachus and the Laurentian Schism

303. Byzantine interest had helped to establish in Italy the throne of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. It was also to the Byzantine party that the opponents of Symmachus, the duly elected Pontiff, looked for support. Constantinople was responsible for the revolt of the electors, and Lawrence could count on being seconded by the Greeks. To secure a Bishop of Rome amenable to the views of the heretical Imperial Court had been the constant aim of Festus, the senator already mentioned. This patriotic Roman and over-zealous servant of the Empire, when on an embassy to Constantinople on behalf of Theodoric, while Anastasius was yet living, had held out hopes that the Papal subscription might ultimately be obtained for the *Henoticon*. This hope being frustrated, on the death of Pope Anastasius, Festus resolved to do his best to give Zeno's successor, the Emperor Anastasius—a determined Monophysite—the pleasure of having in Rome a Pope quite favourable to his views. The handful of electors who voted for the arch-presbyter Lawrence had been bribed by him. Of Lawrence, Festus felt sure that he would give his approbation to the *Henoticon*.[1]

Symmachus had scarcely received consecration in Constantine's Basilica of the Lateran when his rival, Lawrence, on the very same day was consecrated Bishop in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore.[2]

Both then strove to obtain recognition from King Theodoric,

[1] This bribery is proved by THEODORUS LECTOR, *Hist. eccl.*, l. 2, c. 17.

[2] According to the first revision of the *Liber pontificalis* (*Catalogus Felicianus* in DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 97), Lawrence had on his side only "*separata aliqua pars clericorum vel senatorum.*" Cp. G. SCHNÜRER, *Die politische Stellung des Papstthums zur Zeit Theoderichs*, in the *Hist. Jahrb.*, 9 (1888), 251–283, and particularly the remarks on p. 269 against VOGEL, *Die röm. Kirchensynode vom Jahre* 502 [*i.e.* 501], in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, N.F. 14, 401. See also PFEILSCHIFTER, *Der Ostgotenkönig Theoderich und die kath. Kirche* (*Kirchengesch. Studien*, ed. KNÖPFLER, SCHRÖRS & SDRALEK, 3, 1–2, 1896), p. 56 ff.

and each betook himself personally to the Court of Ravenna. Theodoric, however, wisely decided to regard as Bishop of Rome that one who had the greater number of electors. This was equivalent to an acknowledgment of Pope Symmachus, and, for the time being, Lawrence saw fit to submit.[1]

No sooner had Symmachus returned to Rome than he assembled seventy-two Italian bishops, and held a synod with them (March 1, 499) in St. Peter's. Presbyters of the city churches to the number of sixty-seven also took part in the assembly, and it is in their signatures that, for the first time, we find the almost complete list of the Roman titular churches and their names.[2]

The synod devoted itself to the task, appropriate enough under the circumstances, of devising measures for the governing of Papal elections in the future. Under severe penalties it forbade any member of the clergy to promise his vote in the interests of any one during the lifetime of a Pope. With regard to the election itself, it was settled that, according to the custom already long established, when the electors were divided the choice should fall on him who had the majority of votes. According to an expression in the decree, it would seem that at the same time they laid great weight upon the possibility of a Pope previously nominating his successor. The rival Bishop Lawrence was assigned the See of Nuceria, in the Campania, whither he retired, taking with him the sympathy of his party, which was still secretly dissatisfied. The synod closed with good wishes to King Theodoric, the sovereign of the land.[3]

Theodoric and the City of Rome

304. The following year saw the arrival in Rome of the glorious King of the Ostrogoths, who came to take formal possession of a city whose grand traditions he appreciated so well.

He was received outside the gates by the Senate and clergy, with the Pope at their head. His first visit was to the Vatican Basilica, where he, the Arian, offered prayers at the Tomb of Peter, for the Arians, no less than the Catholics, venerated the

[1] For the unavoidable expenses which Pope Symmachus was obliged to incur on this occasion, see ENNODIUS, *Ep. ad Luminosum*, ed. VOGEL (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. ant.*, 7), p. 83, 223–229. Cp. CASSIODOR., *Var.* 9, n. 15, 16, ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. ant.*, 12), p. 279 ff.

[2] See present work, vol. i., p. 188.

[3] Acts of the Synod in MANSI, 8, 230, 305; THIEL, p. 642; MOMMSEN, l.c., p. 399 ff. "*Exaudi Christos Theodorico vita!' dictum trigesies.*"

Prince of the Apostles. After this he passed through the city in brilliant procession—his northern escort being much admired—and arrived at the ancient Senate-hall on the Roman Forum. At this memorable spot, which still maintained an important place in public life, he desired to greet the secular magistrates of the city and all the descendants of the Quirites there assembled. There, too, the privileges of Rome were to be solemnly confirmed.[1]

Theodoric there made a speech to the assembly from the place called *ad palmam auream*. The audience consisted of the Senate solemnly convened; of the clergy arranged according to their rank; of a crowd composed of inquisitive citizens and foreign visitors from every nation; and, finally, of the stalwart Gothic soldiers of the royal escort. Truly a scene worthy of the master-hand of an artist: The fabled hero of the German legend—Dietrich of Bern, so famous in the Middle Ages—holding forth in front of the ancient Capitol and grand monuments of classic times, and promising to defend the rights of the descendants of the Gracchi and of Scipio; assuring the phantom Senate that its existence would be recognised, and Rome that in his laws, government, and conduct he would ever protect her.[2]

This proceeding was in a certain sense the prophetic announcement of that bond of union between Roman and

[1] The visit to St. Peter's tomb is mentioned in the *Excerpta Valesiana* (ed. GARDTHAUSEN in AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Hist.*, vol. ii., ed. MOMMSEN, in *Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. ant.*, 9), c. 65. We shall, in future, quote these *Excerpta* as the "Annals of Maximian" (Archbishop of Ravenna, ca. 550). It is probable that they were written under him.

[2] *Vita Fulgentii*, c. 13: "*in loco, qui* **Palma aurea** *dicitur, memorata Theodorico rege concionem faciente.*" In the Annals of Maximian: "*venit ad senatum et* **ad palmam.**" In CASSIODOR., *Var.* 4, n. 30, ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. ant.*, 12), p. 127, on another occasion allusion is made to a "*Curvae porticus, quae iuxta* **domum palmatam** *posita, forum in modum areae decenter includit.*" As, moreover, this place is designated as being beside the Arch of Severus (*Acta S. Restituti*, in *Acta SS.*, 29 Maii VII., p. 12: "*iuxta arcum triumphi* **ad Palmam**"), it must be near the ancient *secretarium senatus*, the present church of Sta. Martina. Perhaps near, or even in, this building were to be seen the trophies of victory gained in the public games, in which at that time both City and Senate were so deeply interested. Cp. CASSIODOR., *Var.* 2, n. 28: "*Athletam populis* **palma** *designat esse victorem.*" On the left (*i.e.* to the south) of St. Peter's portico, a place where Pope Honorius built a chapel to St. Apollinaris, was called *ad palmata* (*Liber pont.*, 1, 323, *Honorius*, n. 119), I believe because Pope Symmachus had ornamented it with palms in mosaic (*Liber pont.*, 1, 262, *Symmachus*, 79). See below, p. 243, how the Synod in St. Peter's in 501 is called "*synodus palmaris.*" On the other hand, the passage cited in GREGOROVIUS, 1^4, 278, from the *Liber pont.* (1, 233, *Xystus III.*, n. 63): "*domus Palmati intra urbe,*" has nothing to do with the title in question; it alludes to the house of a certain Palmatius near Sta. Maria Maggiore. The Senate-hall in Cassiodorus is often called after the ancient *Atrium Libertatis*, upon which it had been erected—for instance, "*Libertatis aula,*" "*Libertatis penetralia,*" "*Libertatis curia,*" "*Libertatis atria,*" and sometimes simply "*Libertas*"; see MOMMSEN'S ed. of Cassiodorus, l.c., p. 567.

Teuton civilisation which in later times was to lead to a fresh and fertile development of national life.

Fulgentius of Ruspe, who was present on the occasion, compares the Rome of that period with the Heavenly Jerusalem. The beauty of the scene and the surroundings in which it was set aroused in the mind of the impressionable African monk the thought of the City of God with its peaceful and sublime splendour. Unhappily, the Arian Goths were by no means prepared to inaugurate an era of peaceful progress.[1] As soon as his speech was at an end, the King gave orders that his ratification of Rome's privileges should be graven on brass and set up in the Capitol. He then made his triumphal entry into the crumbling Imperial palaces on the Palatine, of which he took possession, without, however, establishing there a permanent residence. Ravenna remained his usual residence, and thither he returned after remaining in Rome for about six months.

Theodoric left careful instructions for the restoration of the Imperial Palace on the Palatine. He displayed great appreciation and feeling for the ancient monuments of the city, and made himself responsible for the repair of many of the buildings of Rome. Instances of his care are to be found scattered among his edicts, which afford a most interesting glimpse into the civilisation at that period. They have been preserved to us in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, who was responsible for them.[2]

Cassiodorus, a zealous Catholic, was admirably fitted to represent the old Roman world at the Court of the Ostrogothic King. In the sphere of statecraft he might well be called the last of the Romans. The endeavour for which he stood, to reconcile and unite in joint action for the good of civilisation the two great nations, formed a fitting termination to the glorious history of ancient Rome.[3]

[1] On Fulgentius in Rome, see present work, vol. i., p. 137.

[2] Buildings of Theodoric were thought to have been found among the later erections on the podium of the so-called Palatine Stadium (C. L. VISCONTI E R. LANCIANI, *Guida del Palatino*, 1873, p. 92), but these buildings seem to belong to a much later date. There is some doubt about the discovery on the Palatine of bricks of Theodoric.

[3] A. THORBECKE, *Cassiodorus Senator*, 1867. A. FRANZ, *Cassiodorius. Beitrag zur Gesch. der theol. Liter.*, 1872. USENER, *Anecdoton Holderi. Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. Roms in ostgothischer Zeit* (1877), p. 66 ff. IG. CIAMPI, *I Cassiodori nel V. e nel VI. secolo*, 1876. G. MINASI, *Cassiodoro nato a Squillace*, &c., 1895, with careful local indications. Cp. BARDENHEWER, *Patrologie*, pp. 589–593. The latest edition (1894) of the *Variae* of Cassiodorus by Mommsen (with an historical introduction) contains some of Theodoric's letters in the appendices, as well as the Acts of the Roman Synods of 499, 501, and 502 ; also remains of Cassiodorus's orations.

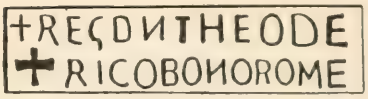
305. The edicts of Theodoric, or rather of Cassiodorus, for the preservation of Roman monuments often surprise us by the detail and care they display. The office of supervising and preserving the buildings was entrusted to a special city architect, the *architectus publicorum*, a subordinate of the *praefectus urbi*. The earlier office of the *curator statuarum* was likewise re-established. The "custodian of the statues" was to watch lest greed or vandalism should do harm to the statues exposed to view in such enormous numbers. The State undertook, among other matters, to restore Pompey's vast theatre; this work was entrusted to Symmachus the Patrician, who had distinguished himself by his new buildings in the neighbourhood of Rome. In 508 Theodoric had the Coliseum restored, after it had been damaged by an earthquake; attention was directed principally to the podium and arena, the portions most necessary for use. In no less than three inscriptions we may, to the present day, read about the merit of the clerk of the works, Decius Marius Venantius Basilius. He is therein given titles which sound oddly out of place in Gothic Rome: "*vir consularis, inlustris praefectus urbi, patricius, consul ordinarius.*" [1]

An edict comprised in the collection of Cassiodorus informs us that large sums were expended on a Tiber wharf, *portus Licini*, and the adjoining works, which included brick kilns, which were to furnish the State every year with 25,000 bricks for the buildings of Rome. In the *Variae* we also find the Roman aqueducts dealt with, and incidentally we learn that the classical office of the *comes formarum* had been revived. The keeper of the aqueducts was to repair damaged places in the conduits, and to take care that the public thermæ and baths still in use were kept regularly supplied with water. Special architects were also nominated to control the gigantic underground drains of Rome. One of these, named John, was placed by Theodoric under the instructions of the City Prefect, Argolicus. Two high officials for the seaport of Rome are also mentioned, and correspond to a similar dual appointment of former days; they were known as the *comes portus urbis Romae* and *vicarius portus*. In the

[1] The charter appointing a Roman *architectus publicorum* begins (*Var.* 7, n. 15, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 211): "*Romanae fabricae decus peritum convenit habere custodem.*" On the *curator statuarum*, *Var.* 7, n. 13. The inscriptions of the Coliseum in the *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., n. 1716 a–c. LANCIANI, *Iscrizioni dell' anfiteatro Flavio* (*Bull. arch. com.*, 1880, pp. 211–282), p. 233.

rhetorical diploma nominating the first, the two towns of Ostia Tiberina and Portus Romanus are extolled with exuberant adjectives as the centres of harbour traffic.[1]

The city walls, dismantled and decayed at many points, naturally claimed a share of the new Government's solicitude. Theodoric undertook at great cost the repair of the work of Aurelian and Honorius. For this purpose bricks were also supplied by the public brickworks in Rome. In the city walls, in



Ill. 144, 145.—Tiles and Bricks of Theodoric and of the Popes of his time, from San Martino ai Monti.

The bas-relief with the doves is a contemporary work from the same church.

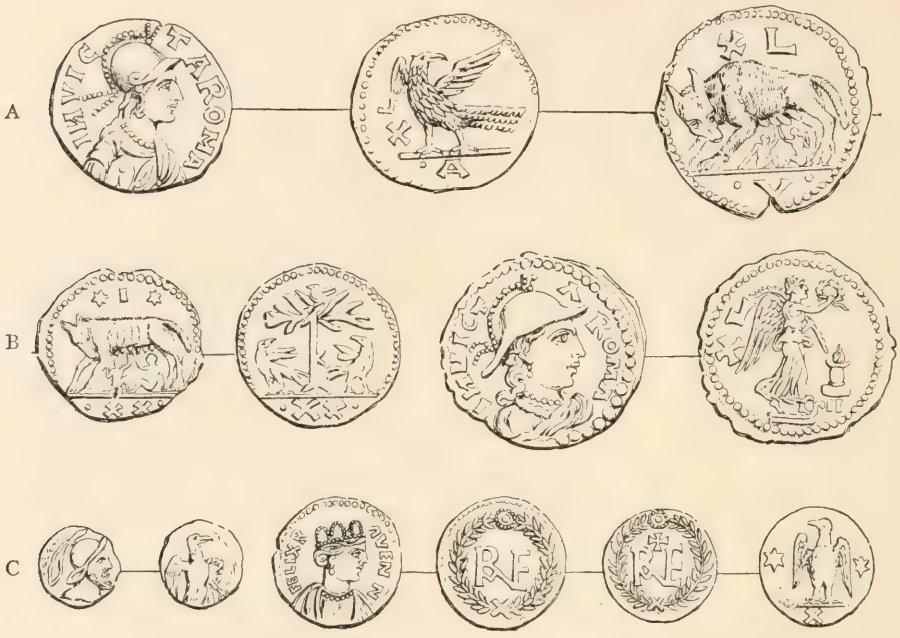
public buildings, in churches, and even on the roofs of ancient basilicas, tiles or bricks bearing Theodoric's stamp have been found down to quite recent times (Ill. 144–5). Besides the name and royal title, they usually bear a cross and the words, "For the welfare of Rome," or "Happy Rome." The words, "Felix Roma," if they fail to express the reality, do at least testify to the

[1] *Var.* 1, n. 25, ed. Mommsen, p. 28. The *portus Licini* and other "*portus*" connected with it formed a riverside brickfield. Two bricks stamped with "portus Licini" are known. *Corp. inscr. lat.*, 15, n. 199, 408. Cp. Dressel, *Corp.*, l.c., p. 123. *Var.* 7, n. 9: "*Formula comitivae portus urbis Romae.*"

Note to Ill. 144–5.—From a drawing by the architect Mazzanti. The bricks last found on the old roof of San Martino are now in the wall of an embankment near the roof. That bearing the inscription "*In nomine Dei*," and also the bas-relief with the doves, is in the crypt of the same church.

desire of helping the city to a new period of prosperity and happiness.[1]

Even the title *Invicta Roma* ventured once more into the field, though probably with some diffidence. The words, "Unvanquished Rome," are to be found on some Ostrogothic coins (Ills. 146 and 147); the figure on them still wears the helmet, while the reverse of the coin has the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, or else the Roman eagle. The reader is, however, well aware



Ill. 146.—Ostrogothic Coins.

A and B bear INVICTA ROMA. C, Coins of the Ravenna type.

that the eagle's wings were then already very weak, and that glory was less in place than anxiety lest the buildings of Rome should collapse. To prevent such a calamity still further precautions had been taken in the edicts.

[1] The words are: +REG[NANTE] · D · N · THEODERICO · FELIX · ROMA · or BONO · ROME. On these and other inscriptions of Theodoric's time, see GAET. MARINI, *Iscrizioni antiche doliari*, ed. DE ROSSI-DRESSEL (*Bibl. dell' accad. stor. giurid.*, 3), n. 149–159 a, p. 74 ff. Dressel deals with such bricks in the *Corp. inscr. lat.*, 15, p. 441, n. 1663 ff.

Note to Ills. 146 *and* 147.—Ill. 146, after FRIEDLÄNDER, *Münzen der Ostgoten*, Pl. 3; Ill. 147, after the same work, Pl. 1. In series B, according to Eckhel, the two eagles stand for Rome and Constantinople; in spite of the flaming sacrifice, the cross shows that the Victory represented is a Christian symbol. In series C we find the monogram

A *comes* named Suna was specially charged with the business of utilising available blocks of marble from the ruins. A special official was further entrusted with the supervision of the preparation of lime. As we have no certain knowledge of a similar post existing in antiquity, it seems probable that the Gothic Government established it for the purpose of putting a stop to the abuse of casting into the kilns portions of marble buildings and even sculpture, a practice which in later times became quite common among the Roman desecrators of the city.

Careful count was kept of the money annually granted for improvements in the city. According to the sixth-century so-called

Ill. 147.—Coins of the Emperors Anastasius and Justin I. with Theodoric's Monogram, and the words "invicta roma."

Annals of Maximian of Ravenna, two hundred pounds in gold from the revenue duties on wine were set apart solely for the repairs of the palace and walls of the city.[1]

The same, almost contemporary, record says in praise of Theodoric: "He generously distributed gifts of money and corn, and, by dint of capable administration, he filled the treasury which he had found quite empty. He took no steps against the Catholic religion. He pleased the common people with circus and other public sports, so that even the Romans themselves

of Ravenna, and the town personified, with the inscription *Felix Ravenna;* another coin has the Roman eagle on the reverse, and on the obverse the monogram of Ravenna. On the date of these coins, see Friedländer, ibid. On the coins in Ill. 147, the monogram is that of Theodoric. Cp. Dahn, *Urgesch. der germ. und roman. Völker* ed. Oncken), 1, p. 301; Pflugk-Harttung, *Das Hoheitsrecht über Rom auf Münzen und Urkunden* (*Hist. Jahrb.*, 25, 1904, p. 469 ff.).

[1] Annals of Maximian, c. 67.

called him Trajan or Valentinian because his reign vied with that of those Emperors." Such are the flattering terms in which Theodoric is described by this reliable historical source, of which the origin, moreover, is Roman and not Gothic.

According to these Annals, the distribution of corn "to the people and poor" of Rome amounted annually to 120,000 bushels (*modii*). This quantity then represented a value of 2000 gold solidi, one solidus being the price for 60 bushels. About 72 solidi went to make one pound in gold. The ancient praefecture of the annona, which had shrunk into comparative insignificance, now regained some of its importance. In a diploma full of minute instructions the newly appointed Prefect is told that he must satisfy the people clamouring for bread, and that whilst the highest Imperial official, the *Praefectus praetorio*, supervises the transport of corn from distant provinces, it is the business of the *Praefectus annonae* to distribute it to the hungry ; the Prefect of the Annona must superintend the bakeries and the bread weights, and also keep a watchful eye on the pork-butchers, &c. &c. For, as the edict concludes, "the love of the populace is strong and reliable only when they are preserved from hunger." [1]

306. If the few annals which exist of those years always speak in favourable terms of Theodoric's rule, we must bear in mind that the misery of the previous period had been so great that the contrast was vividly felt. It may be that, under the influence of the change, contemporaries were led to exaggerate the security and protection conferred by Gothic rule. The eulogies of Theodoric by recent writers, however well grounded they may be, are sometimes due to a too entire reliance on certain exaggerated or rhetorical expressions used in the sources.[2]

There could be no question of any real attachment to the new Government on the part of the Romans so long as the Goths remained strangers to the religion of the people. A great spiritual

[1] Diploma of the *praefectus annonae : Var.* 6, n. 18.

[2] Sometimes even the sources have their meaning forced. For instance, Dahn says that, according to tradition, it had been possible to "leave gold on the public highway and find it again after a year and a day" (*Urgesch.*, 1, 248). As a matter of fact the *Excerpta Valesiana*, c. 72, merely state, as D. Coste rightly translates, that "his administration of justice was so strict, that if any one liked to leave gold or silver in his villa, it was as safe as if it had been inside the city walls" (*Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*[2], 6 *Jahrh.*, 3, 381). Dahn also goes too far when he praises Theodoric for having maintained a certain "ecclesiastical supremacy" over the Catholics, which he certainly would have declined with thanks (*Urgesch.*, 1, 308 ff.; cp. SCHNÜRER, *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1888, p. 271 ff.). Gregorovius (1[4], 382) even thinks, without alleging any proof, that "as long as Theodoric reigned the clergy were entirely subject to civil jurisdiction."

gulf divided them from the Romans. In the main they were still considered barbarians, and, what in the eyes of many was even worse, heretics. It was a great mistake of Theodoric's, one which betrayed a want of political insight, to retain in his kingdom the outworn Arian creed instead of seeing in Catholicism the pledge of a better future and making it the foundation of political life. Dreadful tales were also current among the Roman populace of the King's reckless harshness when actuated by motives of ambition. It had not been forgotten that as soon as he found himself absolute master of Ravenna he had broken his word and with his own hand slain his luckless rival Odovacar ; he had even gone so far as to exterminate the whole of Odovacar's family and all his followers among the nobility. In time great discontent was aroused by the behaviour in Tuscia of Theodahat, son of Theodoric's sister, who was in the habit of seizing arbitrarily upon the property of his neighbours. The Latins must have owed the Gothic soldiers many a grudge on account of high-handed proceedings of this sort.[1]

The pliant Romans acquiesced nevertheless in the Gothic rule. They were made amenable by the King's bounty to the city and by the public sports which received great encouragement from those in authority.

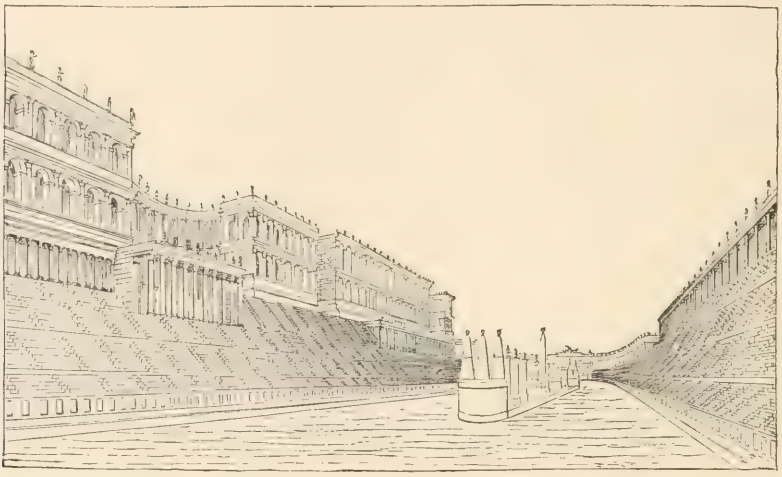
Gladiators certainly were no longer to be seen in the Coliseum, but there was no lack of bold wild-beast combatants (*venatores* or *arenarii*), pugilists and wrestlers (*athletae*) to display their barbarous skill. An edict regarding the games drawn up by Cassiodorus contains, amidst lengthy archæological disquisitions of doubtful historic value, a very valuable description of the dangers attending the wild-beast combats of that time. We also learn that the freshly nominated consuls celebrated their taking of office not only by large distributions of money, but also by public sports in the arena. When Eutharic, the son-in-law of Theodoric,

The fulsome panegyric of Theodoric by Ennodius of Pavia, composed in 507 by order of Pope Symmachus, must be interpreted as beseems a panegyric written in a debased period. According to Carlo Cipolla, it was not even recited by its author, but sent as a manuscript to the King. CIPOLLA, *Intorno al panegirico*, &c., 1889 (*Atti d. r. accad. di Padova*, 4, 209 ff.). HODGKIN also praises Theodoric too highly in his *Theodoric the Goth, the Barbarian Champion of Civilisation* (New York, 1891). Cp. the more substantial work of PFEILSCHIFTER, *Der Ostgotenkönig Theoderich*, 1896.

[1] AMÉDÉE GASQUET (*L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque*, 1888) points out that the Catholic Franks could play a different and much more important part than the Ostrogoths in the fusing of Roman and German. "Théodoric restait par la force des choses le représentant du dogme arien parmi les barbares" (p. 131). His manner of romanising, also, was more violent and less natural than that of the Franks.

entered upon his consulship in 519, wild beasts of several sorts were sent to Rome from Africa for use in the Flavian amphitheatre. Romans stared in amazement at animals, of which the like had not been seen in Rome for ages.[1]

During the Gothic period, too, the vast enclosure of the Circus Maximus, between the Aventine and the Palatine, again re-echoed with the shouts of the charioteers and the cheers of the crowd. Cassiodorus in his description shows us the immense gateway with its twelve entrances through which the chariots dashed forth upon their wild career. Down the centre ran the *spina* with the



Ill. 148.—The Circus Maximus.
Reconstructed, after Schneider, *Das alte Rom.*, Pl. 6, fig. 15.

two huge Egyptian obelisks; of these the larger one had been brought by the Emperor Constantius, the other had already been set up under the Emperor Augustus; the former now adorns the Lateran, the second is in the Piazza del Popolo.[2]

The Circus Maximus must at that time have been practically what it was under Trajan (Ill. 148), though portions of the tiers with their seats may then already have fallen in. A complete restoration would scarcely have seemed desirable, for the population of the city had now been reduced to such an extent that it would not have filled the enormous spaces provided. The church

[1] *Var.* 5, n. 42, a digression upon the scenes at the wild-beast combats. Cassiodorus, *Chronicon* (at the end), on Eutharic: "*multa vidit Roma miracula editionibus singulis.*"
[2] *Var.* 3, n. 51.

Ill. 140.—A Race in the Circus Maximus.

Bas-relief of a sarcophagus from Foligno. After *Annali dell' Istit. archeol.*, 1870, Pl. LM. Cp. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klass. Alterthums*, 3, p. 2093.

of the Resurrection, or of S. Anastasia, on the slope of the Palatine at the northern angle of the circus, looking down upon the high enclosure of the circus on which its foundations partly rested, served to show that the spirit of the age was now no longer the same as when the circus was built.

We may safely assume that the details of the ancient sport of chariot-racing had undergone no great change. Of what the scene was like we may form some idea from a large bas-relief belonging to the period of the decline, which, as it happens, represents the Circus Maximus (Ill. 149). On the left (A) we see the eight gateways (*carceres*) whence the chariots emerge, and, above, the giver of the games in his box. We also see the *spina*, around which the chariots raced, and which extended from the two conical *metae* (B) near the *carceres* to another pair of *metae* (C) on the right, and which supported the obelisk (D) in the centre. The two stands, one with the seven revolving dolphins (E), the other with seven eggs (F), served for counting the courses round the *spina*. A noble, vested in the *toga plicata*, stands ready with a palm branch for the victor (G). As eight chariots are represented, we may take it that each of the four recognised circus factions have two. At different points, among the chariots, temples, altars, and statues may be seen which embellish principally the border of the circus. At the top on the right is depicted a triumphal gate, which must correspond with the arch in honour of Vespasian and Titus which formerly existed at the south end of the Circus Maximus. Party feeling at the circus games in Rome still ran high, though at any rate it was less reckless and savage than in Constantinople, where at this very time, in 501, no fewer than three thousand persons were said to have fallen during a fight which broke out in the hippodrome between the supporters of the green faction and those of the blue. Eight years later, however, even in Rome, the circus sports resulted in deeds of brutal violence. Two senators, Importunus and Theodoricus by name, in the progress of a quarrel with the green faction (*Prasina*) incited their retinue to attack, sword in hand, the opposite party. Edicts from the King to the Senate and the Roman people were necessary to restore order.[1]

In his wordy decrees Cassiodorus also dealt with theatres,

[1] *Var.* 1, n. 30, 31; cp. 1, n. 27.

and, with a philosopher's dislike, inveighed against the deterioration of the drama and of all theatrical entertainments. He declared that the authorities felt obliged to yield in some measure to popular folly and to the ungovernable craving for amusement, but that they expected sober, decent conduct from those who availed themselves of the permission, and that they appealed to the moral sense of the spectators. As of old, a *tribunus voluptatum* was appointed by the Government and was charged with the maintenance of some semblance of order and propriety among the actors and actresses of the different kinds of theatres; popular amusements were not to serve as schools for vice; above all the tribune himself must set an example of good morals in the midst of the prostitutes among whom his work would lie.[1]

307. According to the language of these edicts, the noble city of Rome had the ideal task of setting a standard of good manners for the rest of the world.

Well-ordered civil life, such as it was the Government's aim to impose elsewhere on both Goth and Roman, ought surely to be found in the focus of the ancient Empire. "If we regulate by law the customs of foreign nations," says an edict; "if every commonwealth in league with Italy submits to Roman jurisdiction, how imperative it is that the seat of civil government (*i.e.* Rome) should show great respect to these laws. Whosoever holds public office in Rome should be distinguished for his love of order and attention to the law."[2]

The influence of men such as Cassiodorus, the statesman, and the famous senators Boethius and Symmachus, actually led, during the best period of Gothic rule, to the verification of the words contained in another edict: "The honour of the Goths is to maintain intact the *civilitas Romanorum*," that is, to preserve the ordered course of civil life on the old Roman model.[3]

In one sense the Goths never appropriated the *civilitas Romanorum*, their race despising Roman laws. They preferred to retain for themselves their Gothic statutes and laws. The men,

[1] *Var.* 7, n. 10, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 209. This diploma for the *tribunus voluptatum* recommends severity, "*ne quod ad laetitiam constat inventum, tuis temporibus ad culpas videatur fuisse transmissum. . . . Castitatem dilige, cui subiacent prostitutae.*"

[2] *Var.* 1, n. 27, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 29: "*quanto magis decet ipsam civilitatis sedem legum reverentiam plus habere.*"

[3] *Var.* 9, n. 14, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 278 (Athalaric to Gildilas, *Comes* of Syracuse: "*Gothorum laus est civilitas custodita.*" The context shows that "*civilitas*" here, as elsewhere, signifies regular judicial proceedings, in contrast to blood-feud. The usual translation, "It is the glory of the Goths to preserve civilisation," is not accurate.

all of them soldiers, who with their families took possession of a third part of the land, formed, so to speak, a military caste. The Italians, *i.e.* the Roman inhabitants of the country, clung to their own ancient laws, and were accordingly judged by Roman law. The Goths, being soldiers, established themselves in Rome in the old military quarter of the city, to the south-east, on the Caelian and Esquiline, as far as the Imperial villa *Ad duos lauros*, and Centumcellae. In their quarter were the Arian churches of St. Agatha and St. Severinus. Both in Ravenna and Constantinople they also inhabited separate quarters, where they had churches of their own.[1]

To regulate mutual life and to decide cases in dispute, the so-called *Edictum Theodorici* was issued. As has now been proved, this was published during the King's above-mentioned visit to Rome.[2] His statutes are mostly based on Roman jurisprudence, and sometimes, in the interest of order, are even more stringent.

To wise laws were also added military discipline, strict supervision, and prompt legal aid. A real effort was made to spare Roman subjects from arbitrary oppression. Altogether the change of government was scarcely noticeable in the public functions, whether political or civil. The former government centres at Ravenna and Rome continued to exist and worked as of old. The *praefectus praetorio*, the ancient divisions of the provinces, with their *duces*, *rectores*, and *praesides;* the municipal system of the cities, with their *curiae*, *curiales*, and *defensores*, were all retained intact.

Even the venerable Senate prolonged its existence, but its jurisdiction no longer extended beyond the city boundaries. This once all-powerful corporation, though it still comprised the whole body of the highest nobility, retained but a moral authority in matters concerning the country. Its sphere of action was mainly limited to smaller local matters.[3]

It exercised among other prerogatives a certain judicial power,

[1] TOMMASSETTI, *Il quartiere militare di Roma* (*Mitth. des arch. Inst.*, 17, 1902), p. 98; ZEILLER, *Les églises ariennes de Rome à l'époque de la domination gothique* (*Mél. d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 1904), p. 17 ff.

[2] F. SCHUPFER, *R. Accad. dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali* (Dec. 18, 1887).

[3] The exaggeration involved in the use of the old formularies is very marked when Theodoric addresses the Senate: "*Domitori orbis, praesuli et reparatori libertatis*" (THIEL, p. 695; MOMMSEN, *Cassiodorus*, p. 392). LÉCRIVAIN, *Le sénat romain depuis Dioclétien à Rome et à Constantinople*, 1880 (*Biblioth. des écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 52).

as may be seen, for instance, in a case in which Jews were concerned. Jewish masters had been injured or murdered by Christians in their service, and on the criminals being brought to justice a riot ensued against the Jewish synagogue. The latter must doubtless be looked for in the transtiberine quarter, where the Jews had been established since early times. Some hot-headed anti-Semites went so far as to set fire to the synagogue during the excitement. This was reported to Theodoric by the *comes* Aligern, to whom the injured parties complained, and he at once sent his directions to the Senate. They were to investigate the matter carefully, securing justice and compensation to the Jews, and suitable punishment for the offenders. Any one having any complaint against the Jews was invited to take this opportunity of bringing it to the cognizance of the Senate.[1]

Pope Symmachus and the Roman Synodus Palmaris (501)

308. The Senate's reduced sphere of action corresponded with the narrow views of a portion of its members and to their small-minded meddling in church affairs. This was an evil under which Pope Symmachus suffered greatly.[2]

The controversy regarding the Papal election had indeed been settled amicably, and the rights of Symmachus had been acknowledged. But scarcely had Theodoric quitted Rome to betake himself again to Ravenna, than the senatorial party opposed to the Pope, and some of the clergy led by Festus the senator, brought charges against him at the court. They accused Symmachus of the delinquency of not having celebrated Easter in a beseeming manner, and also brought against him hateful charges of immoral intercourse with women and illegal alienation of church property. Symmachus, being unwilling to proceed to Ravenna to justify himself against such calumnies, his opponents induced Theodoric, who had less experience in canon law than in war and statecraft, to despatch to Rome an episcopal Visitor, just as if

[1] *Var.* 4, n. 43. Cp. BERLINER, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom* (1893); RIEGER (item. 1895-6).

[2] USENER, *Das Verhältniss des röm. Senates zur Kirche in der Ostgotenzeit* (*Comment. philol. in hon. Mommseni*, 1877). SCHNÜRER (*Hist. Jahrb.*, 1888, p. 281), proves by an example that Usener goes too far in according ecclesiastical rights to the Senate, but points out that legal co-operation in church matters at that time on the part of the Senate must be admitted. Pfeilschifter, *Theoderich*, pp. 104 ff., 228 ff., gives very good reasons against Usener. Gregorovius says simply: "In matters disciplinary the Senate laid down the rules for the Church" (1^4, 338; cp. 339).

there were no bishop in the city, for so far it had been the rule to send Visitors only to vacant sees. This bishop, Peter of Altinum in the diocese of Aquileia, was so little conscious of the irregularity of his proceedings that he took the side of the Pope's opponents, oppressed him in manifold ways, and formally sanctioned the sequestration of his churches and church property.[1]

The Catholic party were averse to a schism, and met the difficulty, conformably with Theodoric's wish, by arranging for a Synod with the express consent of Pope Symmachus. About the month of May, 501, a hundred and fifty Italian bishops had already assembled in council in the Roman *Basilica Iulia*, *i.e.* in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, to settle the questions and charges pending. Its business was difficult and involved. Symmachus announced that he would appear at the Synod and justify himself only on condition of being first reinstated in all his rights, and in this his claim was perfectly fair. The result was a standstill. Finally, however, seeing that he could not obtain his object on account of his opponents, he decided to take part in the assembly without the restoration of his temporalities. A fresh session was therefore arranged to take place on September 1 in the Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. But while on his way thither to meet the other bishops, he was attacked by the hostile senatorial party, and so hardly pressed that he barely escaped with his life. He thereupon returned in all haste to St. Peter's, where, during those troublous times, he resided more as a prisoner than as a Pope. He once more refused to take any part in the Synod, indignantly declaring: "I will no longer submit to your trial; I am in God's hands; I am at the mercy of the King, come what may."[2]

[1] "*Visitator . . . contra religionem, contra statuta veterum vel contra regulas maiorum a parte cleri vel ab aliquibus laicis fuerat postulatus.*" Thus the bishops assembled at the Synodus palmaris (see below). When the Visitor was asked for, it was stated (cp. the decree of 483, quoted further on) that Symmachus had forfeited his office through alienating church property. That the latter charge, as well as that of immorality, was invented is easily seen from the circumstances. Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*, 3, 215, and *Urgeschichte*, 1, 312) takes the side of the Pope. Symmachus, in the first revision of the *Liber pont.*, is praised as "*bonus, prudens, humanus, gratiosus*" (ed. DUCHESNE, 1, 97), and the so-called *Fragmentum Laurentianum* (in DUCHESNE, 1, 44 ff.), written by an ardent partisan of the chief of the schism, demands cautious criticism of the statements it makes against Symmachus.

[2] The Acts of this Synod and the final report are in THIEL, p. 657 ff.; in MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist.*, *Auctt. ant.*, 12), p. 416 ff. VOGEL (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, *N.F.* 14, 400 ff.) and STÖBER (*SB. der Wiener Akad.*, *phil.-hist. Kl.*, 112, 269 ff.), place both these Synods or sessions, as well as the Synodus Palmaris (for which see further on), in 502; and they are followed, among others, by SCHNÜRER (*Hist. Jahrb.*, 9, 274 ff.). The consular dates seem, however, too strong in favour of the older system, which divided the Synods between the years 501 and 502. See DUCHESNE, *Bulletin crit.*, 1886, p. 439; 1888,

Theodoric on his part, however, made it known that, as a temporal prince, the decision could not rest with him, and that it was his desire that the Synod already convened should not dissolve before the matter was settled. Were the Bishops then to sit in judgment upon the Pope—subordinates upon their head? This question had never before been brought before the Church in such a form, certainly never amidst such unexampled difficulties as those then aroused by party strife. The case was to be the touchstone of the monarchical organisation of the Church. It was a matter of doubt whether and how to maintain, under the then circumstances, the old principle which so far had never been directly called into question—viz. that the Pope, as Christ's vicar, has no earthly power above Him. The Bishops themselves composing the Synod hesitated to pronounce judgment upon their head, the Pope, whether in his favour or against him, so long as he raised his voice in protest against the proceeding. To the King they wrote that "it was an unheard of thing and quite unprecedented that the Pontiff of this See should be brought up for trial and judgment." Symmachus himself maintained unswervingly the same principle.[1]

Yet it was necessary to come to some decision, seeing that the faction fights continued, and the streets of the city ran with blood. The senators Festus and Probinus, with their adherents, waged war against the Pope's party, which was captained by

p. 200. Mommsen (*Cassiodorus*, p. 426) adheres to the latter dates, and locates the Synodus Palmaris in 501 (October 23). Pfeilschifter argues very ingeniously for the year 502; but, in spite of this, Vogel has recently come back to the older view, and accepted the year 501 (*NeuesArchiv*, 23 (1897), 57). For the history of the Synods and their principal enactments, cp. MAGANI, *Ennodio*, 2 (1886), 52 ff.

[1] The King declared: "*quia non nostrum iudicavimus de ecclesiasticis aliquid censere negotiis*" (THIEL, p. 656; MOMMSEN, p. 424). The bishops, writing to Theodoric: "*Causa nova est, et pontificem sedis istius apud nos audiri nullo constat exemplo*" (THIEL, p. 677; MOMMSEN, p. 423). At that time, therefore, the bishops certainly had not before them the so-called Symmachian forgeries (see above, p. 224 f.), or, if they had, they attached no weight to them. Before these forgeries came into existence Pope Gelasius had expressed the conviction of past times respecting the Popes' superiority to any earthly tribunal ("*summa sedes a nemine iudicatur*") in the words: "*Cuncta per mundum novit ecclesia, quoniam quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum sedes beati Petri apostoli ius habet resolvendi, utpote quae de omni ecclesia fas habet iudicandi*, **neque cuiquam de eius liceat iudicare iudicio**; *siquidem ad illam de qualibet mundi parte canones appellari voluerint, ab illa autem nemo sit appellare permissus.*" *Ep. ad episcopos Dardaniae*, c. 5 (THIEL, pp. 399, 416; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 664). We can therefore only be surprised when Döllinger (*Das Papstthum*, p. 23) gives such far-reaching and tragic purpose to those forgeries and the mythical Council of Sinuessa, as if they had unduly exalted the position and authority of the Pope by putting him above earthly tribunals, and making him supreme judge of appeals. These stupid tales he puts under the significant heading: "Forgeries for the purpose of altering the Church's constitution." This work of Döllinger, formerly known as "*Der Papst und das Concil*, by JANUS," cannot be described as a truly historical work.

another senator named Faustus. Priests and monks, and even nuns, who withstood the schism were mercilessly assaulted. In spite of all, the people, with their sound religious sense, in the main, sided with Symmachus.

The timorous Fathers of the Council at last, on October 23, 501, came to a decision, which was signed by seventy-six bishops. This happened at that session of the lengthy Council which received the name of Synodus Palmaris—a name which came either from the decree having been promulgated on the Roman Forum, *ad palmam*, whence Theodoric had addressed the people, or perhaps because the assembly was held in the forecourt of St. Peter's, at a place called *ad palmata*, of which we find mention elsewhere.[1]

The decree decided that all the denunciations hurled against Symmachus were to be regarded as nothing in the eyes of men. All questions concerning the Pope must he left to God's judgment, and all the Faithful were under strict obligation to obey him. The Synod also adjudged the temporalities to Symmachus, appealing to "the commands of the sovereign who had empowered them," and without whose intervention the latter measure could of course scarcely have been carried out. Thus at this Synod the principle that the Pope is not amenable to justice (*summa sedes a nemine iudicatur*) had, after all, finally carried the day.[2]

But the Senate, divided in its opinion, could not so quickly see its way to retreat. To prove their power they left the lawful Pope in practical exile at the Vatican, and, to spite him, they even recalled home from Ravenna his former rival Lawrence. The latter had been awaiting quietly the outcome of events at the Court of Ravenna. Both he and the visitor, Peter of Altinum, were forthwith excommunicated by the Pope, who made the rejection of both a condition for those of the schismatics who sought to re-enter his communion.[3]

In 502 another Synod met in Rome under the Pope's presidency to confirm the order which had now been restored. One of its resolutions, which deprived the turbulent opposition of one of their best weapons, shows us how anxious the Church's

[1] *Ad palmata*, see above, p. 228, note 2. The Synod is described as "*Quarta synodus habita Romae Palmaris*" (THIEL, p. 657; MOMMSEN, p. 427).

[2] The decree, THIEL, p. 666; MOMMSEN, p. 431.

[3] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 265, note 10; THIEL, p. 697. On the relations between Symmachus and the Emperor Anastasius, cp. SCHNÜRER, *Die politische Stellung des Papstthums zur Zeit Theoderichs d. Gr.*, II., in the *Hist. Jahrb.*, 10 (1889), 253 ff.

authorities were about the future. In 483, under Odovacar, there had been a declaration of the Prætorian Prefect, Basil, whereby future Popes were forbidden to alienate church property under pain of excommunication, and this pronouncement had been imprudently accepted by the Senate and clergy gathered together to elect a successor to Simplicius. As this declaration might be a dangerous weapon in the hands of the Pope's foes, who were charging him with alienations, the Council assembled by Symmachus, on November 6, condemned it. In its deliberations the Synod invoked the ancient axiom that "no layman can settle any church matter without the Pope's leave." On the same occasion Pope Symmachus very advisedly took the course of himself issuing a prohibition—couched in terms stronger than those of the declaration—against any alienations of property belonging to the Church. By this means his opponents were deprived of their main weapon of offence.[1]

The sad times for the Church in Rome and the neighbourhood were nevertheless not yet at an end; unity had not yet been restored. Lawrence not only held his own with his faction, but during four long years retained in his power all the titular churches of the city. Symmachus had, however, the consolation of finding his conduct approved by the best churchmen. The principle, too, that the Pope is subject to no judge met with all but universal approval.

309. Contemporaries of Symmachus have left us in their writings emphatic testimonies in favour of this principle and of the Pope. Avitus, the famous and learned Bishop of Vienne, was shocked by the proceedings against the Pope—about which, indeed, he had received only vague reports—and wrote in haste to certain members of the Senate. No one, so he urges, could understand by what law, or by what right, a superior could be judged, by his subordinates. The Synod was doubtless well-intentioned,

[1] For Basil's declaration, see THIEL, p. 686, in the Acts of the present synod (p. 682 ff.); in MOMMSEN, p. 445. It was annulled, "*ne in exemplum remaneret praesumendi quibuslibet laicis, quamvis religiosis vel potentibus, in quacumque civitate quolibet modo aliquid decernere de ecclesiasticis facultatibus.*" In this same declaration of 483 it was said that the choice of Simplicius's successor must take place (as Simplicius had urgently recommended) after consultation with Basil ("*non sine nostra consultatione cuiuslibet celebretur electio*"); Bishop Cresconius of Tudertum (Todi) remarked that this was equivalent to putting the Papal election in the hands of the laity, which is contrary to the canons. The decree issued by the Pope to bind himself and his successors is called by the Synod "*obligatio, qua se per caritatem Christi connectit summus pontifex*," a clear proof that the Pope was acting freely.

but, in his opinion, it could not be pronounced free from rashness in undertaking to settle such a controversy. "If the authority of the Pope of Rome may be impugned, it is not one bishop, but the whole episcopate which becomes unstable." Such are the words of one who was a Burgundian bishop, a Roman by birth, and a zealous upholder of Christian Latinism.[1]

In Italy the polished writer Ennodius of Pavia felt called upon to pen a defence of the Synodus Palmaris. Here, not without some heat, he takes to task the opponents of the Council and of the Pope. The axiom that the Supreme Pastor of the Church is subject to no judge, but to God alone, is to him a doctrine to which the Church has ever clung. He does not even think it necessary to discuss the limitations which in theory and practice safeguard this doctrine from abuse.[2]

Ennodius further enters upon a long disquisition regarding the holiness of the Popes, which, strange as it may sound, was a matter which had to be dealt with. The opposition, and even Theodoric himself, had laid stress upon it, arguing that if the Pope could not be judged, it followed that he could not sin. Ennodius was, however, ready to answer by means of a distinction. The constitution of a monarchy bestows indeed far-reaching legal privileges on the sovereign. But private, moral responsibility is something quite different; in the case of the monarch it is so great that he is not allowed to break the least precept of the moral law. Further on he also sees fit to point out that, as regards the holiness of the Popes, their lofty position is a good reason why they should receive extraordinary grace from God for their personal guidance. The merits likewise and the intercession of their saintly predecessors, so he says, bring down upon them heaven's choicest blessings. Moreover, Christ allows a special providence to prevent unworthy persons from usurping the Papal office. Moreover, as a rule, only such men are elected Popes as are not likely to cause complaint. The words used by

[1] Letter 34 of Avitus in Peiper's edition (*Mon. Germ. hist.*, *Auctt. ant.*, 6, 2), p. 64 ff. He says of the Primacy: "*Si papa urbis vocatur in dubium, episcopatus iam videbitur, non episcopus vacillare.*"

[2] The opposition had published a treatise, *Adv. synodum absolutionis incongruae.* Ennodius replied with the *Libellus adv. eos, qui contra synodum praesumpserunt* (in the new edition of Ennodius by VOGEL, *Mon. Germ. hist.*, *Auctt. ant.*, t. 7). On the absurdity of judging the Pope he gives his view, which was that of older times also: "*Aliorum forte hominum causas Deus voluerit per hominem terminare; sedis istius autem praesulem suo sine quaestione reservavit arbitrio.*" Praefatio (ed. VOGEL, p. 61; *P.L.*, LXIII., 200).

Ennodius naturally must not be taken to mean that it is absolutely impossible for an unworthy person to secure the sacred office, or for one whose intentions were good in the beginning to fall afterwards into grievous crime.[1]

310. In spite of the votes of the Synod and of the best men in the Church, Lawrence was not prepared to surrender. Among other basilicas he retained possession of St. Paul's outside the walls. This church he and his followers converted into a kind of rival to St. Peter's, where Symmachus resided. In St. Paul's, where the busts of all preceding Popes decorated the upper walls of the nave (see Ill. 101), Lawrence had his own portrait inserted as the last of the series. In the seventeenth century Cardinal Barberini's draughtsman, who sketched these pictures, was able to read the name "Laurentius" under one on the north side, a name which can refer only to Lawrence of Nuceria, who alone of all the Popes and antipopes bore the name of Lawrence. The portrait must have been painted during the period of Lawrence's success, as no one would have set it up after his downfall.[2]

Lawrence was ultimately overthrown through the efforts of Symmachus at the Court of Ravenna. In 505 the Pope again complained to Theodoric, through the deacon Dioscorus of Alexandria, concerning the intolerable state of things in Rome. At last the King allowed himself to be persuaded by the wily Greek to interfere effectively, giving orders that Symmachus should be reinstated in all his rights. The senators had to look on while the city churches were restored to their lawful bishop. Lawrence was forced to seek refuge outside Rome, a country seat belonging to his patron Festus affording him a quiet retreat for the remainder of his life. In Rome peace was gradually re-established, and Cassiodorus could boast in his chronicle that during his consulship, in 514, the year that Symmachus died, he had been able to bring the long-drawn quarrel to an end.

[1] Ibid. Praefatio (ed. VOGEL, p. 62; *P.L.*, LXIII., 200). These details are cited in the so-called *Dictatus Gregorii VII.*, where the holiness of the Popes is spoken of (*P.L.*, CXLVIII., 408; JAFFÉ, *Monumenta Gregoriana* [1865], p. 175). In Langen (*Gesch. der röm. Kirche*, 2, 235) the passage of Ennodius is so mistranslated as to appear in an invidious light. Langen can only speak as he does of the "extraordinary increase in the pretensions of the Roman See" during this struggle (p. 236), by relying on the transparent forgeries of Symmachus's enemies.

[2] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, XXVIII.

Continuation of the Eastern Schism

311. While schism was being slowly stamped out in Rome, the Greek Court once more excited division in the field of dogma. Persecution of the eastern Catholics was this time accompanied by revolting personal affronts to the Pope.

The Emperor Anastasius, a blind devotee of monophysism, in one of his decrees railed against Pope Symmachus, the defender of orthodoxy, as a Manichæan, an unworthy Pope, and one who had unjustly treated the Church of Constantinople. The answer of Symmachus, written between 506 and 512, was dignified and firm. He has few words for the attacks against his own person; he is content to call the city of Rome and his public writings as witnesses to his maintenance of the orthodox faith. But with the attitude of the Papacy towards the schismatic Church of Constantinople he deals at great length, justifying it and placing in its true light the cause of the old dispute, namely, the Greeks' mistaken support of Acacius, the excommunicate. Moreover, as he points out, the Acacian schism had assumed a more threatening character owing to the Emperor's open advocacy of the Eutychian heresy. "Think you," he says with noble dignity, "that because you are the Emperor you need not fear God's judgment? Do you fancy that as Emperor you are beyond the power of the chief Apostle Peter? . . . Compare the dignity of the Emperor with that of the Church's head; the one takes charge only of worldly matters, the other of things Divine. As Emperor you receive from him baptism and the sacraments; you crave his prayers and blessings, from him you ask a penance. . . . Revere God in us, and we shall revere God in you. But if you do not revere God, how can you claim privileges from Him whom you deprive of honour? Consider, O Emperor, the long list of those who, since the beginning of Christianity, have persecuted the Faith. They have perished; but the true religion has shone forth with greater splendour the more it has been oppressed."[1]

Such was the grand language used by a Pope, who in his own city was the sport of opposing factions, and whose situation there was sad to a degree. How heavily the Emperor's hand was felt in the East soon became clearly known in Rome through the Greek fugitives who sought shelter there. Very pathetic is an

[1] THIEL, p. 700; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 761.

appeal from the oppressed Churches, written by a large number of the orthodox pastors to the Bishop of Rome, in which they beg Symmachus, the divinely appointed healer of the sick, as they call him, to use all the remedies in his power for their benefit. "Take care of the broken members of the body of our Church, strengthen our feeble hands, steady our shaky knees, direct our footsteps in the right way. . . . Show us the royal road between the two contrary errors, both of them condemned, of Nestorius and of Eutyches. Enlighten us in the confession of the true Faith, which Pope Leo and the disciples of the Holy Fathers of Chalcedon have handed down to us." Yet these suppliants, whose names do not appear, are not quite clear as to the questions in dispute; they ask why, in the Church's hour of trial, they should not hold communion with such persons as did not reject from their communion those who were excommunicated by Rome.[1]

An answer of Pope Symmachus, addressed to the bishops, clergy, and people of Illyricum, Dardania, and the two Dacias, contains a solution of this doubt, and at the same time a counsel of encouragement to look their trouble firmly and patiently in the face. The time had come when it befitted the Faithful to show fight; the hour when an everlasting reward could be won by confession. To yield at the expense of truth, or to compound with falsehood, would be to allow the Church's body to remain sick and feeble. To remain the friends of the Apostolic Church of Peter, and to save themselves from falling into the bondage of worldly powers like those who were estranged from Rome, they must, once for all, firmly dissociate themselves from the followers of Eutyches, Dioscorus, Peter, Timothy, or Acacius.[2]

312. After long and fruitless struggles, the Pope to whom it was granted to conclude peace with the Greeks was Hormisdas, the successor to Symmachus. The latter ended his trying pontificate on July 19, 514, and was buried in St. Peter's.

[1] THIEL, p. 709; MANSI, 8, 221.

[2] Letter of October 8, 512, in THIEL, p. 717; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 763. The senders seem to have been the Bishops of Illyricum, Dardania, and Dacia.

CHAPTER III

POPE HORMISDAS AND RECONCILIATION WITH THE EAST

Hormisdas and the Empire

Hormisdas was consecrated on July 20, 514, the day following the death of Symmachus, and no disturbances are mentioned as having occurred. From what Ennodius says we may gather that Hormisdas was recommended or designated by his predecessor for succession in the Papacy. He came from Frusino (Frosinone) in Latium, or in Campania, to use the mediæval expression then already current.[1]

The Emperor Anastasius was at that time hard pressed by the revolt of his general, Vitalian, and the urgent demands of the Catholics for peace. He accordingly entered upon negotiations with Hormisdas. In the interests of peace he gave a formal promise to hold a Council at Heraclea under the Pope's presidency. In spite of this, two embassies despatched for this purpose to the East were fruitless. The second one consisted of the Bishops Ennodius of Pavia and Peregrinus of Misenum. As the Emperor, by the time they arrived, chanced to have nothing more to fear from Vitalian he tried to corrupt them by bribery. As this did not succeed, he had them secretly brought out of the city of Constantinople by a side gate, embarked in a crazy ship, and, with orders to touch land nowhere on the voyage, despatched under a strong escort to Rome. Conscious of his power, he even wrote to the Pope: "On him who hearkens to no expostulations we shall waste no words in making petitions. We can indeed endure being scorned and despised, but not being commanded."[2]

[1] On this designation, see Schnürer, 10, 258; Pfeilschifter, p. 138; Duchesne, *Bull. crit.*, 1893, p. 236.

[2] For the Papal instructions to the first embassy, the earliest example of such a document, see Thiel, p. 748; Jaffé-Kaltenbr., n. 774. Papal letters to second embassy: Thiel, p. 796 ff.; Jaffé-Kaltenbr., n. 789 ff. The Emperor's answer, July 11, 517: Thiel, p. 813; Mansi, 8, 424. On the work of Hormisdas in the East, see Schnürer, p. 259 ff., who sets right many mistakes of Langen (*Gesch. der röm. Kirche*, 2, 253 ff.), and of Rose (*Kaiser Anastasius I.*, 1882). The latter passes judgment upon the correspondence of Hormisdas without having read it even in Thiel's edition.

The Emperor, now eight-and-eighty years of age, after having thus brought all connection with the Pope to an end, used the last year of his life in confusing yet more the issues between Church and State. On July 1, 518, he expired suddenly in his palace during a violent thunderstorm, perhaps from fright, or perhaps, as the *Liber pontificalis* opines, being struck by lightning. His successor was the Emperor Justin I., whose disposition was more conciliatory, who saw the need and the urgent desire of the people for union, and who was anxious not to oppose it. As a matter of fact, this craving of the Faithful for the restoration of peace was already bursting the political barriers. Through the intermediary of Gratus, a *Comes* of the Imperial consistory, written requests of the new sovereign, of his nephew Justinian, and John II., the Patriarch of Byzantium, were presented to Hormisdas, praying him to come personally to the East to establish peace, or at least to despatch legates with conditions of peace and full powers for its conclusion.[1]

After having sought King Theodoric's advice, the Pope deputed Germanus, Bishop of Capua, a certain Bishop John, the presbyter Blandus, Felix and Dioscorus, deacons of the Apostolic See, and Peter, the church notary. It was in the beginning of 519 that, accompanied by the blessings of every Roman, they started upon their hopeful voyage across the sea.

The Formula of Hormisdas

313. The envoys from Hormisdas brought to Constantinople a formulary (*libellus*) by signing which the schismatics would show their submission to the See of Peter, and secure their re-incorporation in the Catholic Church. This famous *formula Hormisdae* had been drafted some years previously, and had been submitted and accepted in the provinces of Illyricum and in Spain.[2]

The Formula of union was now to triumph entirely.

Under the influence of the better spirit now pervading the torn and harassed East, the hindrances which had previously stood

[1] See the letters, THIEL, p. 830 ff.; MANSI, 8, 434 ff.

[2] The legates' instructions: THIEL, p. 838 ff.; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 805. The *formula Hormisdae*, in THIEL, p. 754, as used in 515, *i.e.* in its definitive form. For its use in Illyricum, see THIEL, p. 780 (*Ep. ad Iohannem Nicopolitanum*). For Spain, cp. THIEL, p. 793 (*Ep. ad omnes episcopos Hispaniae*).

in the way were removed. No allusion was made to the Henoticon. The removal of the name of Acacius from the diptychs was agreed to without opposition; no objection was taken even to the erasure of the names of his successors and Imperial patrons, Zeno and Anastasius. The Greeks no longer desired any cloak for heresy, now that they sincerely wished to forswear the heresy itself.

In Constantinople, John II., the Patriarch, subscribed to the formula on Maundy Thursday, March 28. On this occasion a special synod met in the Imperial Palace. "I look on God's holy Churches," John adds, in writing, "that of Old Rome and that of New Rome, as one and the same Church. I regard the See of the Apostle Peter and See of Byzantium as one and the same. . . . I agree with the Pope in confession of doctrine, and reject all those whom he rejects." The Emperor, the Senate, and all present testified their approval and consent by loud applause. All then went in procession from the palace to the church, to seal by the celebration of the Liturgy the solemn ending of the Acacian schism, which had not ceased to distract the East for five-and-thirty years. The people thronged the vast enclosure. They wept, and gave vent to their enthusiasm by cries and thanks to God. From the choir resounded acclamations to St. Peter, to the Pope, the centre of union, and to the Emperor, its happy protector. The clergy of Constantinople declared with amazement that never had so great a number of people received Holy Communion as on that memorable day.[1]

The formula of Hormisdas went the round of the Greek Empire.

John II. of Constantinople, and Epiphanius, his successor, laboured for its acceptance throughout the other dioceses of the Empire. In the city of Alexandria, it is true that Timothy, the heretical Patriarch, still held out; whilst the Church of Antioch was given a weak and impotent head in the person of Euphrasius; but the papal definition of Faith, also called the *regula fidei*, is computed by Rusticus, the deacon, to have been subscribed by about 2500 bishops.[2]

In the course of later times it was repeatedly brought forward

[1] Cp. reports of the legates to the Pope (THIEL, p. 856; MANSI, 8, 453), especially the separate report of the deacon Dioscorus, the most active member of the embassy, THIEL, p. 858; MANSI, 8, 454.

[2] RUSTICUS, *Contra Acephalos Disp.*, in fine (*P.L.*, LXVII., 1251).

afresh on important occasions, its ground-principles serving to express the abiding law of doctrinal harmony with the See of Peter. This occurred under Popes Agapetus, Nicholas I., and Hadrian II. Even at the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican a portion of it was embodied in the decree relating to the Roman Primacy.

It begins thus: "The first condition for salvation is to preserve the true rule of Faith, without swerving from the constitutions of the Fathers. The words of Christ: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church,' may not be disregarded. These words have been proved in very deed, for the Apostolic See has ever preserved the Catholic religion without stain. Desirous not to be cut off from this faith and doctrine, and anxious to follow the institutions of the Fathers, we solemnly reject all heresies." There then follows a list of various Eastern Christological heresies with the names of their inventors, including that of Acacius. Further on in the document a general assurance is given to the Pope: "Obeying the Apostolic See in everything and teaching what it has decided, we hope to stand joined with you in that single bond of union which the Apostolic See proclaims and in which the stability of Christendom consists." [1]

The altar of St. Peter's in Rome bore eloquent witness in the multitude of its Greek votive offerings to the settlement now happily secured. The Emperor and the Imperial family, including Justinian, the future Emperor, as well as the Patriarch and many other people of note, sent valuable gifts in precious metal to be exposed at the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles.

During the Pontificate of Hormisdas, Theodoric, King of the Goths, also presented two silver candelabra, each weighing seventy pounds, to the tomb of Peter. From Chlodovec, King of the Franks, who had rejoiced all Catholics by joining the Church, a richly jewelled crown came after his death (511) as a

[1] The beginning, after THIEL, p. 754: "*Prima salus est regulam rectae fidei custodire et a constitutis patrum nullatenus deviare. Et quia non potest Domini nostri Iesu Christi praetermitti sententia dicentis: 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam,' haec quae dicta sunt rerum probantur effectibus, quia in sede apostolica immaculata est semper catholica servata religio.*" The text is also in MANSI, 8, 451; *P.L.*, LXIII., 444; DENZINGER, *Enchiridion*, n. XX. The *formula Hormisdae* often echoes passages in the correspondence of earlier Popes; *e.g.* cp. on fidelity to the Apostolic See, *Ep. episc. Dardaniae ad Gelasium* (THIEL, p. 349); on the purity and immutability of the Faith of the See of Peter, *Ep. Felicis III. ad Zenonem imp.* (THIEL, p. 224); on the importance of Leo the Great's judgment against Eutyches, *Ep. Simplicii ad Zenonem* (THIEL, p. 188).

gift to St. Peter. Around the tomb of the Apostle, sovereigns and nations rallied in charity, as around the hearth of one vast family.[1] To complete the success and satisfaction of Pope Hormisdas, shortly before his death, there came over the sea from Africa the good tidings that the last great persecution of the Catholics, begun by the Vandal King Trasamund, had been terminated by this Arian's death. To the joy of the Roman Church, there was nothing more to hinder the triumphant return of the banished bishops and their reinstatement in their sees.[2]

When Hormisdas departed this life, on August 6, 523, he can scarcely have foreseen that after such happy experiences a sad change in the position of the Church in Italy would suddenly be brought about by the action of King Theodoric.

After a week's delay John I., a native of Tuscia, was consecrated Pope.

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 271, *Hormisdas*, n. 85 ff.

[2] JAFFÉ-KALTENBR. (p. 101 ff.) gives a collection of ninety-five authentic letters of Hormisdas. Under n. 862 is included the didactic epistle, devoid of date, in which Hormisdas quotes and amplifies the previously mentioned decrees (see present work, vol. i., p. 338 ff.) of Damasus and of "Gelasius." In THIEL (p. 931), they appear under the following headings: I. *De ordine librorum canonicorum;* II. *De numero apostolicarum sedium;* III. *De constitutionibus sanctorum conciliorum;* IV. *De opusculis sanctorum patrum, quae recipiantur;* V. *De opusculis apocryphorum, quae recipienda non sunt.* Guenther has dealt with the order of the letters, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Briefe des Papstes Hormisdas*, in the *SB. der Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.*, vol. 126 (1892).

CHAPTER IV

JOHN I. (523–526) AND THE GOTHIC KINGDOM IN ITALY

John I., a Martyr

314. JOHN I. received, in 525, from Theodoric an invitation to betake himself to Ravenna, which unhappily left him no choice. Though ill, and full of gloomy forebodings, he set forth. He knew quite well that the haughty King had for some time past cherished a deep feeling of hatred for Romans and Catholics generally. The measures taken by the Emperor of the East for the conversion of heretics and especially of Arians, who were one in faith with the Goths, had increased Theodoric's ire. The mainspring of his aversion was, however, political distrust. The friendly relations re-established between Rome and Byzantium had excited in him the deadly suspicion that the clergy and nobility of Rome were allying themselves with the Emperor against his own rule in Italy. Pope John was accompanied on his melancholy journey by the senators and ex-consuls Theodore, Importunus, and Agapitus, and by another Agapitus, a patrician.

On reaching Ravenna, Theodoric desired John to set off at once on an embassy to Constantinople, and, among other things, secure an undertaking from the Emperor to restore the recent converts from Arianism to the Arian faith. The Pope declared bluntly that he would carry no such message, but that he was ready to fulfil any other commands of the King. The indignant monarch then had him brought on board ship with three bishops, Ecclesius of Ravenna, Eusebius of Fanum, and Sabinus of Capua, and the distinguished Romans just named. The vessel was then despatched by the quickest route to Constantinople.[1] There an

[1] According to the Annals of Maximian, the King said to John I.: "*Dic ei* (*Iustino*) inter alia, *ut reconciliatos haereticos nequaquam in catholicam restituat religionem*" (c. 88, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 328). That is to say, all those who declared themselves ready for conversion, even if they came of their own accord, were to be refused admission into the Catholic Church, while those already admitted were to be induced to return to Arianism —surely an extraordinary demand to make of a Pope. But that the Annals really imply this to have been Theodoric's intention is clear from the Emperor's declaration which they also record, viz. that he "could never yield up to the Arians those who had been reconciled and had accepted the Catholic Faith."

honourable reception on the part of the Catholic capital of the East and the Court formed a brilliant contrast to the treatment just experienced. The news spread like wild-fire through the delighted and excited city that the Pope was arriving, the first of Peter's successors to tread the soil of Constantinople. The distinguished guest was met at a distance of twelve Roman miles from the walls of the city, the people and clergy receiving him in solemn procession with crosses and candles. The Emperor, too, on meeting him, prostrated himself, honouring him, says our authority, as though he had been Peter himself.[1]

Among the various matters of business which the Pope accepted to arrange on behalf of Theodoric, one was probably the proposal that those who remained Arians should not, for the time being, be forcibly deprived of their churches. But, needless to say, nothing was settled in fulfilment of Theodoric's main demand. During his stay in Constantinople John performed the religious ceremony of crowning the Emperor. At Easter, on April 19, he publicly celebrated the liturgy in the Latin language, and during the ceremony took precedence in rank over the Patriarch of the capital. After this he quitted the city in haste, and was conveyed back to Ravenna with his companions. It would seem indeed that the whole while, even during his stay in Constantinople, he had been watched by people in Theodoric's service.

In Ravenna, the King had him remorselessly cast into prison. Quite unreasonably the Pope's share in the Emperor's coronation had incensed the King yet more, and added to his distrust. This imprisonment was the last bitter cup to be forced on the unfortunate Pope, whose only fault was his devotion to duty. As a result of the fatigue of his voyage, and of the fresh indignities and sufferings he was made to bear, he survived but a few days, and breathed his last in prison, a noble victim of his own courage and the undeserved suspicion of a despot. He died on May 18, 526.

His body was at first interred outside the walls of Ravenna. In the almost contemporary Annals of Maximian it is stated that during the funeral a man possessed was restored to his senses

[1] "*Venienti ita occurrit ac si beato Petro.*" *Ann. Maximian.*, c. 91, ed. Mommsen, l. c. Cp. *Liber pont.*, 1, 275, *Iohannes*, n. 87, and the *Cronicon Marcellini*, ed. Mommsen (*Mon. Germ. hist. Auctt. ant.*, t. 11), p. 102. The event happened in 526. Duchesne, note 8.

when the body was carried past. The people and the senators also, so we are told, had reverently taken fragments of the Pope's robes as relics of a saint. Not long after, the "martyr who died with glory"—to use the expression of the *Liber pontificalis*—was brought to Rome, where he found a resting-place in the porch of St. Peter's among the other Popes of his period. At the end of his metrical epitaph one could read the significant words which describe, with the fate of this Pope, the fate of the Papacy as a whole, of which the path leads through the sorrows of this life to heavenly glory: "Priest of the Lord, thou fallest a victim of Christ; yea, in this wise did the Popes earn God's highest favour here below." [1]

315. Other distinguished victims were also to be sacrificed in Italy at about that same time.

The irritability, cruelty, and distrust which seemed to possess King Theodoric in the last portion of his reign, make this otherwise eminent ruler seem petty and feeble in the evening of his life. His bad humour turned him into a blind, reckless foe of the Romans and of the Catholic Church. Cassiodorus, his good genius, had withdrawn, and new counsellors now advised the monarch—for instance, an unscrupulous officer of state named Cyprian, and a Jewish attorney named Symmachus, his most influential adviser. Cyprian, even before the journey of John already related, had accused the senator and ex-consul Albinus of high treason for having intrigued with Constantinople. Boethius, a great man, equally famous as a statesman and a writer, generously undertook to defend Albinus and the Roman Senate. The consequence was that he himself had to bear the brunt of the King's suspicion and displeasure. His execution amidst exquisite torture remains an indelible blot in the history of the King of the Goths. Shortly before his death, Boethius penned his well-known treatise "On the Consolation of Philosophy"; this work, composed in prison by the deeply religious author, is full of profound thought cast in the elegant form of antiquity. The book seems to shed a soft radiance over the figure of the sorely-tried sage. It is the poet Dante who makes St. Thomas Aquinas say of Boethius—

[1] *Liber pont.*, 1, 276: "*defunctus est . . . martyr*"; the first recension has "*defunctus est cum gloria.*" The epitaph with "*procumbis victima Christi*" is in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 57, who gives good reasons for ascribing this anonymous text to John I. Cp. DUCHESNE, note 15.

"By seeing every good therein exults
The sainted soul, which the fallacious world
Makes manifest to him who listeneth well." [1]

How small in comparison with this spokesman of Romano-Christian culture appears the fierce King, who, after so brilliant a beginning, relapses into barbarism at the suggestion of blind political prejudice and religious hatred. Nor did the King's rage subside. The fate of Boethius was shared by his father-in-law, the aged Senator Symmachus. The guilt of the leader of the Roman Senate lay in the fear lest he should avenge the murder of Boethius on the King. He was accordingly ordered to Ravenna, and there beheaded. In his mania of dread, Theodoric next issued an edict forbidding any Roman throughout the kingdom to carry weapons. By pulling down a Catholic oratory at Verona he showed that even churches were not safe from his rage. The Annals of Maximian complain of him that "he became a foe of God, unmindful of the blessings he had received." According to this authority, Symmachus the Jew had already prepared a law, according to which the Arians would immediately have entered into possession of the Catholic churches of the country. The King was, however, seized with an attack of dysentery, which terminated fatally (August 30, 526).

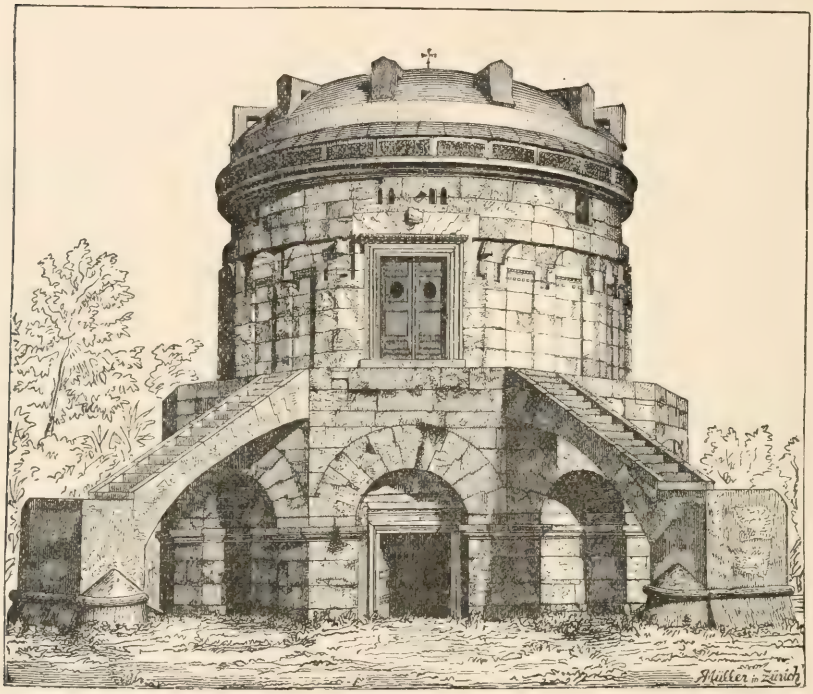
Theodoric's Buildings

316. The Mausoleum which Theodoric erected outside Ravenna as his own burial-place, still exists almost uninjured (Ill. 150). Its strong and massive form, crowned with a cupola consisting of a single stone, is typical of the Gothic period in Italy. This rotunda, which strikes out a new line in architecture, reveals in some sense the aboriginal talent which lay dormant in this gifted nation. Whoever ponders on it will call to mind with

[1] The book *De consolatione philosophiae* has been as variously judged as the author and his cruel death. Those who dispute the Christian character of Boethius have been dealt with by A. HILDEBRAND (1885), J. DRÄSEKE (*Jahrb. für prot. Theol.*, 1886, p. 312 ff.), and N. SCHEID (*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1890, II., 374 ff.). The *De consolatione* is dedicated to philosophy, as its title shows. It is not a theological work; in fact, it avoids trenching on specifically Christian truth. But this, as the authors just mentioned rightly contend, is no proof that the "last Roman philosopher" was not a Christian. At the present day his theological treatises furnish an external argument of which older writers were not able to avail themselves. Under Leo XIII. the worship accorded Boethius at Pavia since time immemorial was sanctioned for that diocese. DANTE, *Parad.*, 10, v. 124 ff., Longfellow's trans.

some sadness the great hopes to which the energy of the Goths gave rise as long as they remained on friendly terms with the Church and with the Romans. Unluckily these hopes were never to be realised, for no sooner had Theodoric vanished from the field of history than all prospect disappeared of the nation making the progress it had once promised.

The unfortunate Goths, far from consolidating either their



Ill. 150.—Theodoric's Mausoleum at Ravenna.

Exterior. Cp. Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1, 855.

religion or their culture, were soon to engage in a sanguinary struggle for their existence, and in spite of all its valour their nation was to bleed to death upon the battle-fields of the fair provinces it had conquered. The Mausoleum at Ravenna is the nation's tombstone. But this edifice, as the King's building activity in Rome would already lead us to suppose, is not the only witness standing to Theodoric's enterprise in the architectural domain. Many cities of Italy, but especially Ravenna, reaped the harvest of his passion for building and love of art. In Ravenna, his

Ill. 151.—SS. Silvester and Martin (S. Martino ai Monti), with the Mediæval Tower of the Capocci.

(Photograph by Commendatore C. Tenerani.)

capital, he built a vast royal palace, of which a mosaic in one of the city churches is commonly thought to be a picture. Theodoric also restored Trajan's aqueduct and other conduits of the city, besides erecting a smaller palace, a portico, some baths, the Basilica of Hercules, various churches, and the Arian Baptistery.

The latter buildings, several of which are still standing in the city, contribute by their character to give Ravenna its peculiar, venerable aspect, and to rank it above Rome itself for its profusion of monuments in good condition belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries. It is true that, under Theodoric, Rome's wealth of marble was often laid under tribute for the embellishment of Ravenna. Superfluous marble blocks from the Pincian Palace were, by the King's orders, brought to Ravenna by the *catabulenses* or public carriers. To make up for this his men and his money were often enough at Rome's service for the building of new churches in the Eternal City; particularly was this the case during the better days of his government, when as yet he was kindly disposed to Catholics.[1]

Pope Symmachus, during Theodoric's reign, built the Rotunda of St. Andrew, beside St. Peter's. This Pontiff, one of the most prolific poets among the Popes, provided the altars of the Rotunda with verses of his own. Besides other churches, he built the Basilica of St. Prancras outside the Aurelian Gate, and the Basilica of SS. Silvester and Martin, close to the ancient *Titulus Æquitii*. This last is the church now called S. Martino ai Monti (Ill. 151).[2]

317. The Basilica of SS. Silvester and Martin, still in a fair state of preservation, may be placed beside the previously described churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Sta. Sabina, and San Paolo fuori le mura, as a type of the basilicas of the sixth century. But what excites our interest in SS. Silvester and Martin's, is, on the one hand, the connection of this basilica with the *Titulus Æquitii*—a place of worship reckoned among the earliest public churches in Rome—and on the other its association with Theodoric's rule. The *Titulus Æquitii* may still be visited below the church, and as memorials of Theodoric we may see in the upper

[1] *Var.* 3, n. 10, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 84: "*marmora quae de domo Pinciana constat esse deposita.*"

[2] For the inscriptions by Symmachus, see DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. XLI.: "*videtur Damasi quodam modo pressisse vestigia.*"

part of the present building a collection of recently discovered roofing-tiles bearing his name.[1]

The Basilica deserves close examination. Two rows, each of twelve, fine, ancient columns divide the inner space. These columns are all of similar size, shape, and sort of marble, a remarkable exception at that period, when change and variety had already become the rule. On the lower portion of two of these columns the present writer found the name of Propus (Probus). This, as at Sta. Maria Maggiore and Sta. Sabina, gives us the name either of the quarry-owner or of the contractor who supplied the marble.

When the church was being built, these columns were set up on high bases, because they proved too short in proportion to the height of the structure. They support highly worked Corinthian capitals, most of which betray by their decoration that they do not date from the period previous to Theodoric and Symmachus. By striving unduly after greater variety of form, they deviate considerably from the ancient type of Corinthian capitals, but in spite of this they are executed with taste and skill.[2]

The pillars are linked up with one another by a straight entablature, consisting of a marble architrave with projecting corbels. There is no transept.

The apse makes a fine sight when seen from without, *i.e.* from the Piazza in the adjoining modern street, its effect being heightened by the lofty mediæval tower of the Capocci family. The upper border of the apse, below the roof, is encircled by a sixth-century cornice. The profusely decorated corbels support panels, which, looked at from below, are seen to bear large

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 262, *Symmachus*, n. 80: "*basilicam sanctorum Silvestri et Martini a fundamento construxit iuxta Traianas.*" Cp. *Fragmentum Laurentianum* in DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 46: "*Hic* (*Symmachus*) *beati Martini ecclesiam iuxta sanctum Silvestrem Palatini inlustris viri pecuniis fabricans et exornans, eo ipso instante dedicavit.*" The various names of the church are explained in the text. For the ancient condition of the church, see FILIPPINI, *Ristretto . . . della chiesa dei SS. Silvestro e Martino ai monti.* Roma, 1639. Cp. CROSTAROSA, *Nuovo Bull. arch. crist.*, 1898, p. 201 ff. Upon the tiles shown on the church may be read Theodoric's formula: "+ *Regnante domino nostro Theoderico bono Rome*," and "+*Regnante domino nostro Theoderico, felix Roma.*" Cp. above, p. 231. For the stamp also found in San Martino, "+*In nomine Dei*," and probably dating from the time of Symmachus, see DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1869, p. 94; 1870, p. 15. During the latest restoration it was proved that many of the beams under the roof spanning the broad nave date from the time either of Theodoric or of Sergius II., who restored the church.

[2] MAZZANTI (*La scultura ornamentale*, *Archivio storico dell' arte*, 1896, p. 48) gives a good illustration of the capitals. A number of those nearest the main entrance are distinguished from the others by greater purity of style; they may possibly have been purloined from some earlier structure.

Ill. 152.—Cornice of the Apse in SS. Silvester and Martin's.

Ill. 153.—Remains of a pierced Marble Window in the fourth-century Titulus Equitii.

(Mazzanti, *Archivio storico dell' arte*, 1896, p. 424.)

fantastic masks in the ancient style (Ill. 152), alternating with rich ornaments of trailing foliage.[1]

Classic influence was still much in evidence; but a profusion of secondary details and decorations which the period lacked sufficient artistic sense to control was now making its appearance. A similar remark may be made regarding the mosaics; opulence and ornament both in dress and other details become the order of the day, but expression and sincerity to nature gradually deteriorate.

In consequence of fresh excavations the interesting crypt of the church of S. Martino, to the left of the apse, has been partly laid bare; it is composed, particularly on the east side, of great blocks of tufa—taken from the Servian city wall, which passes the church on that side—which in some cases retain the stone-masons' marks of the original builders.

Here, accordingly, in a certain sense, the Rome of earliest times is linked with incipient mediæval Rome.

But Imperial Rome is also represented here; in fact, the Basilica may be said to stand in the shadow of one of the wonders of the classic world, for it rose in the immediate neighbourhood of Trajan's superb baths. Trajan had extended these *thermae*, begun by Domitian, from the *Oppius* as far as this part of the Esquiline. According to an inscription they were still used in the fourth century. For a long time they were wrongly associated with the name of Titus. It was near their north-eastern angle that Symmachus erected this church.[2]

In our own day, rooms which belong to the best period of Roman architecture, have been excavated beneath the apse among other blocks from the Servian wall. A ruined portico also came to light, of which one portion ran parallel with the northern wall of the church.[3]

According to a contemporary authority, Symmachus had erected and decorated his sacred fane with the assistance of a

[1] The apse, in HÜBSCH, Pl. 4, diag. 9. Our Illustration 152 shows as in Mazzanti (p. 48) a mask of the cornice. Similar masks are also found in the church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, beneath the cornice within the apse.

[2] Fourth-century inscription: *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., n. 1670: "*ad augendam thermarum traianarum gratiam.*" For the remarkable inscription of Scaptoparene, of the year 238, in which the "*porticus thermarum traianarum*" is mentioned, see LANCIANI, *Bull. arch. com.*, 1892, p. 27. As the usual road to the church from the populous quarters of the city led past these baths, people naturally associated them with the name of the church.

[3] *Bull. arch. com.*, 1880, p. 317; 1888, p. 221; 1892, p. 342; 1893, pp. 26, 116, 300.

certain noble "Palatinus." He dedicated it to St. Martin of Tours, the great apostle of Gaul and promoter of monasticism among the Germans and Romans of the north. Symmachus had a special reason for selecting this spot as the site for his basilica. He evidently wished to honour anew the ancient *Titulus Æquitii* lying close by. The church of the presbyter Æquitius stands to the west, directly under the hill upon which the new basilica was built, and is a sanctuary dating from the days of Constantine. This pious priest of Pope Silvester had given up his own house and grounds for the establishment of a *Titulus*, and, at the instigation of Silvester, the Emperor Constantine had enriched the Title with important foundations. The low situation at the foot of a slope covered with buildings in decay may have unfavourably affected the masonry. At any rate Pope Symmachus connected it with his basilica by a staircase.[1]

The venerable *Titulus* was thus preserved as a place of worship; in fact during mediæval times it became a much frequented shrine of St. Silvester, mainly owing to the legend started by the sixth century forgeries regarding this Pope, which told of a great synod held under his presidency in the "Baths of Domitian or of Trajan," the *Titulus Æquitii* being mistaken for these *thermae*. Everything which concerned Silvester seemed calculated in the Middle Ages to excite the poetic fancy of the Roman populace. An archæological discovery has, however, proved that Pope Silvester was venerated here as early as the fifth century; we allude to the silver votive offering of that date, a sort of *gabata*, found near this place, and which, according to its inscription, had been given in honour of Pope Silvester.[2]

In the newly erected church of St. Martin the worship of two renowned saints was combined: that of the extirpator of Roman Paganism, St. Silvester, who bound the dragon of the temple of Vesta, and that of St. Martin, who in the North was the

[1] The *Titulus Æquitii* is the first church mentioned in the *Liber pont.* under Pope Silvester (I, 170, n. 34), and its situation is described: "*in praedium Equitii iuxta termas Domitianas.*" For this *Titulus*, see present work, vol. i., p. 190; DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 188, note 4; LANCIANI, *Bull. arch. com.*, 1893, p. 26; also his excellent commentary on the Einsiedeln Guide, *Monumenti antichi*, I, 484–489.

[2] The Synod, comprising 275 bishops, was said to have been held in the "*thermae Domitianae, quae* (or *quae nunc*) *cognominantur Traianae*," or simply in the "*thermae Domitianae.*" See DUCHESNE, l.c. The Baths of Titus are, however, excluded by recent discoveries. It would seem at the period when these apocryphal documents were compiled the Title of Æquitius was looked on as an appendage of the neighbouring Baths of Trajan, which had been begun by Domitian. On the gabata, see above, p. 166, n. 3.

great champion of Christianity and civilisation, and father of monasticism.

The fact that St. Martin, the Pannonian monk and bishop, who laboured among the Gauls, was venerated by the Church as early as the fifth century, is one of the earliest, or at least on of the most noteworthy, instances of a Confessor, who was not a martyr, being made the recipient of liturgical honours. Even at the present day we may see in his office the trace of the transition from the worship of martyrs to that of simple confessors. We are there told, as if to justify the inclusion of this Confessor in the list of saints, that, though Martin had not been struck by the persecutor's sword, he had in other ways secured the palm of martyrdom.[1]

That veneration for St. Martin, already widespread in Gaul, should have at that time been introduced into Rome may possibly have been due to the person described above as "Palatinus," who bore the cost of the building. He may have been some Gothic official of the court, like Valila, the founder of St. Andrew Catabarbara, and if he was, like Theodoric, a Northerner, then the memory of St. Martin would probably have been dear to him, and would have suggested the saint as a patron for his church.

318. From San Martino the old flight of steps leads down to the *Titulus Æquitii.* This is, indeed, in a sad state of decay, yet the portions of the ancient church still remaining carry us back in mind to the times of Æquitius and Silvester (Ills. 153 and 154). Walls and vaults belonging to the fourth century still exist; the visitor's foot still treads upon remains of the ancient black and white tessellated paving of the floor. On the walls classical coloured decorations, now almost effaced, may yet be discerned. It is clear that Æquitius, with the broad-mindedness usual in his time, when transforming his house into a church, left intact such of the decorations as were not distinctly idolatrous. In the eighties of last century the present writer was able to admire the mythological figures painted in heathen times with a light, artistic brush on one of the vaults. They had then just been brought to light by excavation, but have since been entirely ruined by the damp. Filippini the Carmelite, who in 1637 found his way into these long-forgotten vaults, saw on the pictures, disks,

[1] *Brev. Romanum*, Nov. 11, in ii. Vespers, Ant. ad Magn.

mythical griffins, birds and foliage, all carried out, as he phrases it, "in a grotesque style"; also a bounding stag and little figures with "flowing drapery." Even now, showing in what esteem this site was held in the Middle Ages, we may make out on the walls paintings depicting saints bringing their crowns to Christ, or grouped around Him and Our Lady. On the ruined vaults remains of large, coarsely-worked ornaments in the shape of crosses and stars, are also to be seen.[1]

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319. Theodoric was only able to do what he did for the preservation of the monuments of Rome and for the erection of new buildings in other cities of Italy, thanks to the excellent financial administration conferred by him on the Gothic kingdom. The administration of the kingdom was conducted on Roman lines. The King, looking on himself as the supreme governor of the Roman Empire of the West, appointed as officials and functionaries of his realm men who were also favourable to the ideals of Rome. Theodoric never regarded himself as King of Italy, or even of Rome. He never styled himself thus, nor yet King of the Goths, but simply King, without any addition. His right to the title of King was founded on his German sovereignty.[2]

Theodoric and the Empire of the East

The public position of the Ostrogothic Kingdom enables us to understand how the Byzantine Emperor could continue his relations with the West. The governing power which Theodoric, according to an agreement made with the Emperor Anastasius, exercised throughout the Western Empire, with the exception of conquered Spain, was practically that of a Roman Viceroy. He was (although he never used the title) at once *magister militum*, Consul, and Patrician. As the idea of a Roman Empire of the

[1] There is no good plan of these remarkable vaults. An attempt at one will be found in a photograph by Parker (No. 227 ff.). Parker also (No. 3057 ff.) gives the mythological pictures, which according to him were discovered in 1872. For the disks, &c., see G. A. FILIPPINI, *Ristretto . . . della chiesa dei SS. Silvestro e Martino ai monti*, pp. 16, 26.

[2] PROCOPIUS (*De bello Pers.*, 2, c. 1, and *De bello Vandal.*, 1, c. 13) calls him and his successors "Kings of the Goths and of the Italians." Cp. MOMMSEN, *Ostgothische Studien*, *Neues Archiv*, 14 (1889), 223–249, 451–544; 15 (1890), 181–186. Our next section embodies Mommsen's researches.

East and West, one and undivided, still held good, he could govern Italy and the other countries which then went with it merely in the name of the Byzantine Emperor. The only peculiarity about his case was that his rule was not to be a personal privilege, but a permanent right vested in the Gothic Sovereign.[1]

Theodoric, the ruler of the West, for instance, had not the right of minting money, or, if he had, it was only as a subordinate. Nor could he legislate save within limits. For the appointment of a Consul he had to seek consent of the Emperor Anastasius. Not having the right of bestowing Roman citizenship upon aliens, he was unable to appoint Goths to Roman offices, or to put them in the Senate. On the other hand, he could nominate Romans to any office in his portion of the Empire.

Theodoric was formally authorised to wear the royal insignia. Odovacar had never envied these externals, and had even sent the *ornamenta palatii* back to Constantinople. These the Emperor Anastasius returned to Theodoric, who accepted them. The German King might therefore be seen in his Palace at Ravenna robed in purple, with the diadem on his head, and seated amidst the Imperial regalia.[2]

In his private capacity he was reckoned not only a Roman citizen, but also a member of the tribe of the Flavii, just as Odovacar had previously taken the name of Flavius when he received from the Emperor the rights of Roman citizenship; in this wise a certain imaginary connection was established with the family of Constantine and the later Emperors, who were all of them Flavii. In the edicts of King Theodoric (they are called *edicta* and not *leges*) the name of Flavius does not appear, because they were all drafted by Cassiodorus, who had a rooted objection to the then Roman habit of accumulating names.

The Germans in Theodoric's State were, judging by the standard of Roman law, to all intents and purposes merely foreign soldiers in the Roman service. They held the same position as the ancient *barbari* or *gentiles* belonging to the Empire. In the main they were subject to the old regulations governing friendly

[1] The idea of a Roman Empire one and undivided was fostered by Cassiodorus among the Ostrogoths. Cp. *Var.* 1, n. 1, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 10 (Theodoric to the Emperor Anastasius): "*pati vos non credimus, inter utrasque res publicas, quarum semper unum corpus sub antiquis principibus fuisse declaratur, aliquid dissentire permanere. . . . Romani regni unum velle, una semper opinio sit.*" Cp. 10, n. 32; 11, n. 13.

[2] MOMMSEN, *Ostgothische Studien*, 14, 537, note 2.

populations settled on the borders of the Roman Empire. In the Roman system everything was based on tradition and legal precedent, in which indeed lay the secret of Rome's strength and authority.

On the other hand, the German tribes outside Italy—the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Vandals—had shaken themselves free of this sort of tutelage; they had raised themselves, thanks to their energy, from their former position of subordination to a state of independence; their kings ruled independently, and were no longer mere generals of the Romans' German allies. They had the right of coining money and of making laws, though sometimes, whether from force of ingrained habit, or from motives of personal interest, or owing to the influence of bishops who by birth or training were Romans, they continued to accord a certain pre-eminence to the Emperor of the Roman Empire. When Theodoric wrested from the Visigoths the kingdom of Spain, which hitherto had enjoyed an immunity of this sort, he too immediately adopted the style and dignity of an independent king, though he confined this independence to his action as King of Spain.

From all this it is easy to see how incorrect it would be to look on the famous Gothic Sovereign as the founder of a new Germano-Roman polity.[1]

Theodoric's Successors on the Ostrogothic Throne

320. When death snatched the crown from Theodoric, there was no male heir on whom it could descend. No keener blow than this could have been dealt at his kingdom in Italy, particularly at a time when he had alienated so many hearts by his oppression of the Catholic Church and its Chief Pastor, and by his unjust persecution of the Roman Senate.

The subsequent reigns following each other in rapid succession would almost lead us to suppose that some overpowering hostile fate rested on the Goths. On behalf of **Athalaric,** the infant son of Theodoric's daughter Amalasuntha and the Visigoth Eutharic, **Amalasuntha** herself, a high-minded and well-educated woman, assumed the regency. By every means in her power she en-

[1] Mommsen, 14, 540. Cp. the quotations from Hartmann, *Gesch. Italiens im Mittelalter*, p. 79 ff.

deavoured to bridge over the wide gulf still yawning between Roman and Goth. She herself, both in thought and action, was more a Roman than a Goth. In her mind everything depended upon retaining the friendship of Justinian, the Roman Emperor and law-making representative of the ancient Empire.

Under such circumstances a counter current of Gothic feeling in the hearts of the nobles of her people was inevitable.

Athalaric paid the penalty of his excesses by an early death, and his mother chose as co-regent **Theodahat,** a well-educated but violent and rapacious soldier, a son of Theodoric's sister Amalafrida by her first husband; Cassiodorus, who had then returned to Court as Chancellor, drew up the edict by which both Amalasuntha and Theodahat were to share the throne of Italy.

But Amalasuntha fell, a victim to the hatred of the Gothic nationalists. She was banished by Theodahat to the delightful isle of Martana, on the lake of Bolsena, and was there violently done to death by unknown hands. Her death, however, furnished her friend, the Emperor **Justinian,** with a good pretext for declaring war against the Ostrogoths and wresting Italy from them.

Italy was to become once more a province of the Empire immediately dependent on the Emperor.

It seemed a favourable moment for such an enterprise. The far-reaching plans of Justinian, which aimed at re-establishing Rome's power throughout the West, had just been realised with remarkable success in the Vandal kingdom. In 533 he had captured Carthage, and had brought Gelimer, the last Vandal King, in triumph to Constantinople. With the help of a general so able, energetic, and faithful as **Belisarius,** who had accomplished the conquest of Africa, the Emperor hoped soon to see Italy too at his feet.

With this end in view, Belisarius landed in December 535 in Sicily. Dalmatia was attacked by the Byzantine general Mundus, and the north-westerly portion of the Ostrogothic State was, at the demand of the Greeks, simultaneously assailed by the Franks. King Theodahat, whose courage was no greater than that of his predecessor, the boy-king Athalaric, first made reckless overtures to the Emperor Justinian, and then took measures to offer a hopeless resistance to the Imperial troops advancing from the south of Italy. Finally his own Gothic chieftains, at Regeta in the Pontine Marshes, declared him deposed, and raised a new

leader, **Vitiges,** on the shield. This brave and prudent King at once decided upon the only right step, viz. to leave Rome and Central Italy to the steadily approaching Roman armies, and to concentrate his own forces and those of his allies behind the ramparts of Ravenna. Belisarius, without meeting any resistance, entered Rome by the *Porta Asinaria*, beside the Lateran, on December 9, 536. The welcome given to the Roman tokens of victory and to the Catholic general by both Pope and Senate was joyful and sincere.

CHAPTER V

THE POPES FROM JOHN I. TO VIGILIUS

Felix IV. (526-530), Boniface II. (530-532)

321. When the forces of the Eastern Empire under Belisarius once more brought the Roman eagles back through the gates of Rome, the head of the Church was Pope Silverius. No fewer than four Popes had succeeded one another during the short period which intervened between his pontificate and that of John I., who died in prison.

The last portion of the Gothic occupation of Rome had been a time of sad trial for the city, for the country, and for the Roman Bishop. The Church of Rome had rarely had to face such difficulties at home. Dangers of a sort never experienced hitherto were created by the machinations of political factions and by disputes concerning the papal succession. Interests of the most divergent nature invaded the Church and sought to influence the elections.

John's first successor, Felix IV., a native of Samnium, and the son of Castorius, had been backed by the overwhelming influence of Theodoric. The electors, however, gave him their votes, and he was duly chosen Pope, and consecrated July 12, 526. Felix naturally enjoyed the favour of the Gothic Government, and with no detriment to the Church. When the Roman clergy complained to Theodoric's successor, Athalaric, at Ravenna that the liberties of clerics were constantly violated by the civil courts of law, a royal edict, penned by Cassiodorus, and showing great reverence for papal authority, was issued to forbid such injustice. It insisted on the observance of the earlier custom whereby any civil or criminal charge brought by a layman against a cleric was to be tried before the Bishop of Rome or the ecclesiastical judges appointed by him. Any one infringing this rule and taking such a case before the King's justices was to incur a penalty of ten pounds in gold. The treasury officials in Rome (*palatini sacrarum largitionum*) were to collect these fines and place

them in the Pope's hands for distribution among the poor of the city.[1]

Another remarkable token of royal favour towards Pope Felix IV. was the permission he received to adapt into the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the two classical buildings on the Roman Forum. The famous mosaics of Felix IV. in this church even at the present day carry us back in mind to the closing period of Gothic rule.[2]

But in Rome the party of the Goths was always faced by that of the Byzantines. Both had eminent representatives in the Senate and in the Church. Whilst this conflict endured it was the rule to cast about even during the Pope's lifetime for a suitable successor. It appears that under Felix IV. the wishes of the Byzantine faction were already centred in the person of the deacon Dioscorus, a distinguished and capable Alexandrian cleric, who had done excellent service to the Popes not only under Hormisdas, when peace was concluded with Constantinople, but also under Symmachus at the Court of Ravenna. Dioscorus now belonged to the Roman clergy, but, on account of his birthplace, he also represented the Greek element. His previous attitude seemed to promise well.

In 530, Felix IV. was brought near to his end by a severe illness. To obviate the risk of schism, and to secure the successor in whose hands he considered the reins of power would be safest, he took a step of which the like had never been taken before. He bestowed his episcopal pallium, with right of succession in the See of Rome, on Boniface, his trusty and well-deserving Archdeacon, a man who, as the son of Sigibald, was of a German family though a Roman by birth. A letter signed by the Pope's own hand was put up in all the Roman *Tituli* proclaiming this appointment to the clergy, the Senate, and the people. Consideration for the quiet and peace of the Roman Church, says Felix in the document, had made it necessary, especially as the Church of that juncture was impoverished and weighed down by debts. Should Felix recover, Boniface would, moreover, return the pallium. He trusts that all

[1] *Var.* 8, n. 24, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 255: "... *longae consuetudinis institutum ... ut ad antistitem negotium suum dicturus occurreret ... Ideo considerantes apostolicae sedis honorem*," &c. (there then follows the decision). An undue importance has been given to this edict, as though it had contributed greatly to ecclesiastical exemption and the "political power" of the clergy; see, *e.g.* GREGOROVIUS, I[4], 328.

[2] For the church and the mosaic, see present work, vol. i., p. 232 ff.

will accept his decision in a God-fearing and religious spirit, since he, the Pope, had taken it only after much prayer, and under guidance from on high. Any one causing divisions and striving to rend the Church is no longer a son of the Church, and must be excluded from Communion. Let all know that he has given notice of "this his will" to the authorities, *i.e.* to the Court at Ravenna.[1]

322. Felix IV. died very soon after, apparently on September 22, 530, and **Boniface II.** was immediately consecrated, and **Dioscorus** too. The latter had also the support of by far the greater part of the Roman priests, and whereas his consecration took place in the Lateran Basilica, that of Boniface had occurred in a mere hall of the Lateran Palace, the so-called Julian Basilica.

Felix's nomination of his own successor, far from being productive of good, plunged the Roman Church anew into schism.

It was indeed a lucky thing that, before a month had passed, Dioscorus was dead. After his demise his large party wisely agreed not to continue the schism, but to submit to Boniface, setting thereby an example of singular moderation. No fewer than sixty Roman presbyters made a written declaration to Boniface, rejecting the memory of Dioscorus, anathematising him, and giving his surviving rival the satisfaction of being called *beatissimus papa* and *papa venerabilis*.[2]

It is scarcely credible that this overwhelming majority of the Roman presbyterate had previously acted against their consciences in using their right of election to oppose the choice of Boniface. It seems more probable that they wished to show their disapproval of the new manner of appointment. When, however, they were ready to forsake their attitude of opposition, Boniface, so far as we can judge by the wording of our documents, actually induced them, by what means we know not, not only to acknowledge him at the expense of Dioscorus, now deceased, but also expressly to promise that they would in the future not oppose the designation of his

[1] The text according to Mommsen's edition is given in the *Neues Archiv*, 11 (1886), 367; previously in DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 282, note 4. The heading runs: "*Incipit* **praeceptum** *papae Felicis*"; at the close the words are: "*Quam* **ordinationem** *meam . . . hanc* **voluntatem** *meam.*"

[2] The *libellus* of the presbyters in MOMMSEN, p. 368; in DUCHESNE, note 8: ". . . *anathematizans Dioscorum persuasorem . . . Quod si aliquando similia tempta-vero in ea causa, in qua veniam ab apostolatu vestro merui, tunc ecclesiastica sublatorum ultioni.*"

successor by the Pope. This promise is made in the above-mentioned declaration.

Boniface was quite convinced of the necessity and usefulness of the nomination or designation of one Pope by the other. He considered the discarding of the previous practice the only expedient to be adopted under the circumstances of the time.

As soon therefore as that declaration, duly signed by every presbyter, had been deposited among the archives of the church, he assembled a council at St. Peter's and made known to the clergy that he had decided on the deacon Vigilius as his future successor. This measure was acquiesced in quietly by those present, and the assembly dispersed. Against this proceeding feeling began, however, to grow, and soon opposition became so strong that Boniface was compelled to ask himself whether the measure should not be cancelled. Choosing the lesser evil, he yielded, convoking to the tomb of Peter another council, in which we are informed that the Senate had a share. Before the whole assembly Boniface confessed that he had done wrong in designating Vigilius as his successor, and thereupon cast the decree into the flames.[1]

Until recently little was known regarding these remarkable proceedings. The nomination of his successor by Felix IV. with the details involved, was first made clear in 1882 by the discovery of three documents in the capitular archives of Novara. The first two documents were the deed in which Felix designates his successor and the text of the presbyters' anathema against Dioscorus. The third is the report of a decision taken by the Senate, about which we must now speak.[2]

323. During the pontificate of Boniface, reproach was brought against the Senate, in connection with the above proceedings, that it, or at least several of its members had allowed themselves to be corrupted, and in consequence of bribery had taken sides in the question of the appointment to the Holy See. It is not clear whether this charge relates to the trouble at the time of

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 281, *Bonifatius II.*, n. 92: "*ante confessionem beati apostoli Petri ipsum constitutum praesentia omnium sacerdotum et cleri et* senatus *incendio consumpsit.*"

[2] The find was made by G. Amelli, at that time librarian at the Ambrosiana, and now Prior of Monte Cassino; the documents were first dealt with by him, in 1882, in the *Scuola Cattolica* of Milan (Vol. 21, No. 122). Duchesne has an article on them in the *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 3 (1883), 239 ff. (*La succession du pape Félix IV.*). Cp. text and commentary in P. EWALD, *Neues Archiv*, 10 (1885), 412 ff. (*Acten zum Schisma des Jahres* 530).

Dioscorus, or to the choice of Vigilius, but at any rate so jealous was the illustrious Senate of its good name that the charge of corruption moved the Fathers of the Curia to exculpate themselves by a public deed.[1]

The Senate accordingly took the same action as Pope Symmachus had once taken with regard to the alienation of church property of which he had been accused. By senatorial decree they forbade, under penalty, any offer or acceptance of money for the purpose of influencing the choice of a candidate at future papal elections. Thereby they simply made known their assent to the ecclesiastical regulations already in force. In sending their decree (*contestatio*) to "the presbyters, deacons, and all the clergy," they were making use of their ancient privilege of co-operating with the church authorities in the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline; perhaps this threat of penalty may also have had a wholesome effect upon certain members of the clergy who were oblivious of their duty, and may even have been necessary to stop the abuse.

The Senate's decree pleased the Gothic Court at Ravenna. Not long after, under John II., it was included in the law of the land, the nature of the offence and the amount of the penalty being also at the same time more clearly set forth. It was also extended to all the sees in the Gothic kingdom. This edict of Amalasuntha and Athalaric, framed by Cassiodorus, seems indeed somewhat irreverent to the clergy, whom it threatens, but the observation with which it begins is quite correct, namely, that its contents are but an application of the canonical ordinances.[2]

In one point this edict is still less honourable, and cannot be alleged as a pattern for church laws, namely where, in order to prevent contested elections, it directs that whenever such a case is carried by the people, the nobility, and the clergy of Rome to

[1] CASSIODOR., *Var.* 9, n, 16, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 281: ". . . *Dudum siquidem senatus amplissimus ab splendore suo cupiens maculam foedissimae suspicionis abraderе, praevia deliberatione constituit, ut in beatissimi papae consecratione nullus se abominabili cupiditate pollueret*," &c. "*Quod nos laudantes et augentes inventum*," &c. The recently discovered senatorial decree, or rather report upon this decree, is in MOMMSEN, *Neues Archiv*, 11 (1886), 368: "*Atque senatus talia proposuit. Senatus amplissimus presbyteris*," &c.; also in DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 282, note 4; in EWALD, p. 414. I agree with Ewald that this decree of the Senate and that included by Cassiodorus (*Var.* 9, n. 15, 16) are one and the same.

[2] *Var.* 9, n. 15: "*Iohanni papae Athalaricus rex*" (ed. MOMMSEN, p. 279). The King merely wishes "*talia decernere, quae possunt sacris regulis convenire.*" The decree was issued at the close of 533.

the Ravenna tribunals a money payment shall be made. Three thousand *solidi*, so it says, may be demanded by those judges of the court who decide the question, a sum which, seeing it comes from the Church, shall be given to the poor. The last clause was in all likelihood observed but little in practice, for Roman officials in the service of the Goths had not unlearnt the Byzantine art of filling their own pockets.

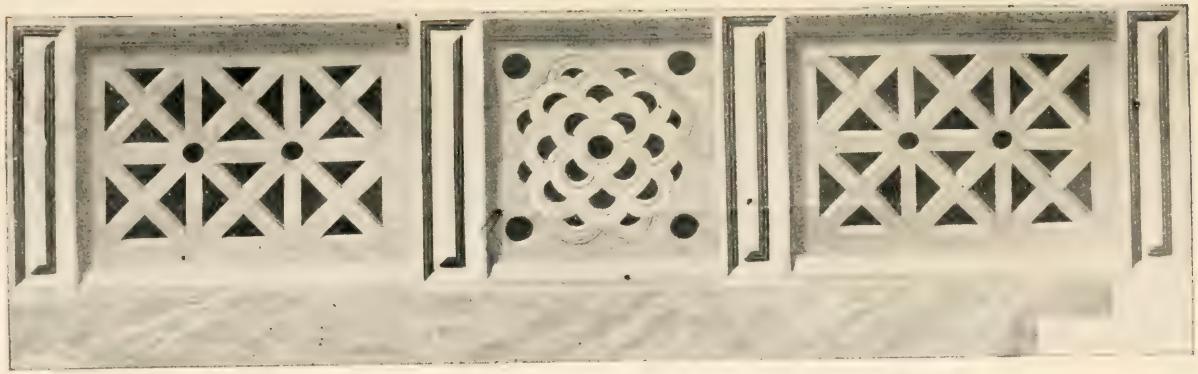
When Felix IV. designated his successor he was at pains to point out how straitened the Roman Church was financially. The directions contained in the edict just spoken of enable us to understand better why the Pope, then on the point of death, sought to avert a quarrel over the election. Similar expenses had had to be incurred even before the exact amount had been fixed by royal edict. In addition to this the Church's revenue was always drained to some extent to meet the promises made by rival candidates for the purpose of securing votes. Under such circumstances many people conceived an objection to an election of any sort, and were thus led to welcome the idea of the Pope designating his own successor.

The financial embarrassment of Felix IV. towards the close of his pontificate was due partly to his great liberality towards the clergy and the poor of the City, partly to a disastrous failure of the crops. The revenues (*pensiones*) usually drawn by the Holy See from its Patrimonies were then at a very low ebb. On the other hand it is stated of Boniface II. that, when a famine was feared, he distributed very abundant alms. We are even told that, from legacies he had received, he made presents of dishes (probably of silver) to the presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, and church notaries. The epitaph of this Pope also extols his charity.[1]

John II. (533–535), Agapetus I. (535–536)

324. Pope Boniface II. reigned only till October 17, 532, whilst **John II.**, who succeeded him, seems to have been elected on January 2, 533. His pontificate, too, lasted but two years and four months. His own name was Mercurius, which, pro-

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 281, *Bonifatius II.*, n. 92 : "*Hic presbiteris et diaconibus et subdiaconibus et notariis scutellas de adeptis hereditatibus optulit*," &c. The epitaph in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ. urbis Romae*, I, n. 1029 ; 2, I, n. 126, 141. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 283, note 14. GRISAR, *Anal. rom.*, I, 151, with illustration of the few preserved fragments, Pl. II., n. 6.



Ill. 154.—Fourth-century Marble Parapet in the Titulus Æquitii.
(Reconstructed from the remaining fragments. After Mazzanti.)

Ill. 155.—Marble Screen in San Clemente with the Monogram of John II. (Mazzanti, *Archeologia dell' arte*, 1866, p. 40.)

bably on account of its pagan, mythological sound, he exchanged for John. A Roman by birth and the son of Projectus, he had, before his election, been presbyter of St. Clement's Basilica on the Cælian, with which the reader is already acquainted.[1]

In San Clemente two inscriptions referring to this Pope before his election still exist. In them he calls himself *Mercurius presbyter*. Both belonged to a marble pillared ciborium erected by himself and his clerical brethren of the Basilica. The marble screen of the *schola cantorum* also bears a monogram of the name John as a memorial of its erection during his pontificate. (Ill. 155.)[2]

At the election of Pope John II. party feeling seems to have been very active.

In connection with it, a *defensor* of the Roman Church brought very serious complaints before the Ostrogothic Court at Ravenna, to the effect, namely, that members of the electoral body had promised money to secure votes, and that liabilities had been incurred to the detriment of the funds intended for the support of the poor; church vessels, even, had been openly put up for sale. Such reports carried by self-seeking and party-spirited persons to the Arian Court of Ravenna, laid the Roman clergy open to every insult. The City was the sport of political factions. The Pope was forced to realise in bitterness how entirely dependent he was on the secular power, residing in a city which was not even his property. How mortifying must it have been to John II. and to all right-minded people, when, by command of the government, the decree of the Senate against simony in papal elections was again brought into prominence, and, together with the corresponding edict of Amalasuntha and Athalaric, graven on marble and put up in the court of St. Peter's.[3]

This was the last decree of which history is cognisant, corporately issued by the ancient Senate. After this decree, during the next few years, the Senate is only alluded to a few

[1] See present work, vol. i., p. 212 ff.

[2] GRISAR, *Anal. rom.*, I, 151.

[3] *Var.* 9, 15, 16. In the last edict, which was addressed to the City Prefect Salventius towards the end of 533, we read at the close: "*Tam definita nostra quam senatus consulta tabulis marmoreis praecipimus decenter incidi et ante atrium beati Petri apostoli in testimonium publicum collocari; dignus est enim locus, qui . . . decreta contineat*" (ed. MOMMSEN, p. 281). The last clause shows that this was the first instance of the posting up of secular decrees at St. Peter's.

times, and then quite cursorily; after that it disappears altogether from the history of the world. It surely had a grand past to look back upon, when, like so many of the monuments of classic Rome, it was forced to share the inevitable fate of dissolution. The outstanding fact is, however, that this last *senatus consultum* of the *patres conscripti* was issued to promote the welfare of the Church and Papacy. It sought to assure greater regularity in the election of the Church's head. In no better way and in no better place could the Senate more worthily have closed its career than by this edict for the benefit of the Papacy, graven on marble and set up as a memorial in front of St. Peter's. The decree was to strengthen the great upholder of Rome's future, and to corroborate that authority, which, as the protector, and, later on, as the owner of Rome, was to render yet more real the City's claim to be the *Urbs aeterna*.[1]

In the time of John II. the Eastern Empire on one occasion proved its veneration for the Eternal City and the Apostolic See. The Emperor Justinian, who had always an eye on the West, sent Hypatius, Bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius, Bishop of Philippi, to Rome, to present to the Pope their monarch's confession of the Catholic faith and his assurances of respect for the teaching office of St. Peter. They were probably also bearers of fresh princely gifts from Justinian for the Apostle's Tomb. These presents consisted of a gold scyphus to be used for the consecration, set round with costly jewels, besides other silver chalices both for the consecration and for communion, and four purple, gold-embroidered hangings.[2]

Thus did Justinian approach Rome with envoys and gifts. Not long after, his victorious general was to enter the gates with the forces of Eastern Rome and incorporate once more the City in the Empire.

325. When John II. died on May 8, 535, he was followed five days later by **Agapetus,** a Roman and a son of the presbyter Gordian belonging to the church of SS. John and Paul on the Cælian. When elected he was Archdeacon. Belonging to a senatorial family, he had a mansion in the vicinity of the church just named. The house adjoined the sumptuous residence to be occupied later

[1] LÉCRIVAIN, *Le sénat romain* (1888), p. 200; *Le rôle du sénat après Théodoric.*

[2] See above, p. 9. On the gifts: *Liber pont.*, I, 285, *Iohannes II.*, n. 93. The four hangings or curtains ("*pallia olovera aurotexta*") were probably for the four sides of the pillared tabernacle of the high altar.

on by Pope Gregory the Great, and even appears to have come into Gregory's possession, and, through him, into that of the Gregorian monastery of the *Clivus Scauri.* In this mansion Agapetus founded a library, of which the text of the dedicatory inscription has come down to us.[1]

The choice of Pope Agapetus unquestionably indicates the reappearance in Rome of that party which formerly supported Dioscorus, the Greek. They had not yet forgiven themselves for having been persuaded, after the death of their candidate, to condemn his memory. The disturbances at the election of John II. may have been partly their doing. Having now again secured the upper hand, with their friend Agapetus as Pope, these restless clerics were soon to see the fulfilment of their fondest hope, viz. the rehabilitation of Dioscorus.

One of the new Pope's first acts was to institute a search in the archives for the declarations signed by his supporters, with the condemnation of Dioscorus, in order to try the case anew. The clergy were called together in synod, whereupon the Pope appeared, carrying the documents, which, in the presence of all, he committed to the flames. This was no mere act of personal spite. Dioscorus, the deacon, had in fact secured the votes of a very large percentage of the clergy who were against the novelty of a Pope appointing his own successor. In the incident just related we have merely a new and more energetic condemnation of the practice, conveyed by the quashing, as unjust, of the anathema against Dioscorus. Boniface II. had been defeated in his attempted nomination of Vigilius, and the same party which had then secured a victory over him was now successful in obtaining a condemnation of the very principle of designation.[2]

As a matter of fact, from this time onward the nomination of a Pope by his predecessor was a thing excluded by the Church's practice. Only during the reform initiated by Gregory VII. did it threaten to reassert itself again. In previous history, moreover, in spite of an apparently contrary statement of Eusebius, it cannot be proved with any plausibility that any Pope obtained his office through being designated by his predecessor. All that we

[1] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 288, note 1.

[2] "*Libellos anathematis . . . in medio ecclesiae congregatis omnibus, incendio consumpsit.*" *Liber pont.*, I, 287, n. 94. The foes of designation could appeal to Canon 23 (included by Dionysius Exiguus in his collection) of the Council of Antioch *in enceniis* (MANSI, 2, 1307; HEFELE, I, 520).

have are certain passages in Ennodius which would lead us to conjecture that such a thing occurred in the case of Hormisdas ; it is just possible that he owed his position to his predecessor Symmachus.[1]

According to Canon Law, the more probable opinion is that a Pope could not prescribe designation as the usual mode of appointment to the Holy See, nor may a Pope under ordinary circumstances dictate his own choice. As a rule the Pope must be chosen by free election, that the danger may be averted of anything in the nature of a dynasty among the Popes, and arbitrary choice precluded. Were designation to become the rule, cases of such arbitrary nominations would speedily arise, for the Popes, being usually men of advanced age, it would be an easy matter for the unscrupulous to take advantage of their natural infirmities, and thus become favourites and secure their own designation. It is a different matter when designation takes place exceptionally. Should the Pope in a special case consider that the ecclesiastical or political situation is such as to render designation necessary or very advisable for the Church's welfare, then he may, according to the opinion of some theologians, appoint his successor, cancelling, for the time being, the right of the electors by virtue of the supreme power bestowed upon him for the Church's good.[2]

In the light of this wise principle of Canon Law we may perhaps estimate the conduct of Felix IV. and even of Boniface II. more mildly than apparently was done by the party opposed to them. It may be that both Popes, with their keen insight into the internal dissensions and outward political dangers of the Church, saw reasons sufficient to justify designation. On the other hand, the sharp opposition they encountered had the advantage of preventing the experiment being attempted save on these few occasions.

In judging the endeavour of these two Popes we must also be mindful of the fact that the succession of the Emperors on the

[1] K. Holder, *Die Designation der Nachfolger durch die Päpste. Inaugural-Dissertation* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1892). Cp. Granderath, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 45 (1893, II.), 81 ff., and 7 (1874, II.), 139 ff. ; Duchesne, *Bull. critique*, 1893, p. 236 ; and especially the masterly article by J. Hollweck, *Kann der Papst seinen Nachfolger bestimmen?* (*Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, 74, 1895, II., 329–424), together with the literature cited in it, p. 330. Cp. G. Peries, *L'intervention du pape dans l'élection de son successeur* (Paris, 1901) ; Sägmüller, *Die Ernennung des Nachfolgers durch die Päpste* (*Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1903, fasc. 2).

[2] Hollweck, p. 375, and Granderath, 45, 81 ff., who disagree with Holder.

Byzantine throne was quite commonly secured by designation. The same principle was also accepted by the Gothic sovereigns in Italy. This secular sanction given to the custom, and particularly the example of Eastern Rome, more easily explains how, at a time of great stress, the Church could have recourse to a practice unheard of in her own history.

Under Agapetus the political situation of the Papacy grew even more difficult than hitherto, and politico-ecclesiastical feuds did not fail to exercise their influence in the election of his successors.

326. The preliminaries to Justinian's warlike expeditions against the Ostrogoths in Italy led to the Pope's visiting Constantinople as an envoy. Though the Pope, as a noble Roman, was certainly by no means averse to the conception of a Roman Empire, he, too, followed in the footsteps of the martyred Pope John I., and approached the Emperor with a view to upholding peace. It was the intention of Agapetus to induce him to spare the Gothic kingdom. This object he desired both out of respect for the ruler of his country and because he wished to avoid the horrors of a prolonged war. The entreaties and threats of King Theodahat eventually led him to undertake the mission in person. Theodahat in his distress had turned to the Pope and the Senate with most urgent representations and commands. Among the ill-advised steps he took in his abject terror must be reckoned the written threat addressed to the Senators to the effect that, did they not open negotiations with Justinian, he would have every one of them slain with their wives and children. There was, however, a further reason which induced Agapetus to undertake his journey, namely, the danger in which the Faith stood in the East, owing to the Monophysites. Of this we are informed in the narrative of Zacharias of Mitylene, where questions of dogma occupy the foreground. We are told that at the request of Ephraim, Patriarch of Antioch, the presbyter Sergius was instrumental in persuading the Pope to take the decision he did, and also accompanied him on the voyage.[1]

So little did Agapetus shrink from any difficulty in the interests of Rome that, being in some temporary embarrassment as to money for his journey, he actually pledged to the

[1] *Anecdota syriaca*, German trans. by AHRENS KRUGER, 13, p. 207 ff.

Roman treasury-officials valuable plate belonging to St. Peter's. Later on, the Pope's legal representatives again claimed it, though they obtained it only by a decree from Cassiodorus, the prætorian Prefect of the day, to the officials Thomas and Peter, to which decree we owe our knowledge of this interesting fact. By command of the Emperor Justinian, the Pope was very honourably received outside Constantinople. One person only was excluded by Agapetus from the reception, viz. Anthimus, the Court Patriarch, whose promotion to office had been irregular, and who was suspected of heresy. No sooner had the Pope succeeded in obtaining an audience—in which he was received by Justinian with every honour—than he perceived that his peace-mission was bound to be a failure. The Emperor informed him point blank that the preparations were already too far advanced, and the expenses already incurred too heavy, for war to be avoided.[1]

Religious differences with the haughty Anthimus, who was the Court's favourite, were soon to make themselves manifest. Agapetus, poor as he was and wanting in worldly resources, in this matter affecting the faith, displayed great strength of character in spite of all the seductive arts employed by the Court. He unflinchingly faced the tempest aroused by Theodora, the Empress, a former actress, who alternately by threats, attempts at bribery, and noisy scenes demonstrated her attachment to the cause of the heretical Patriarch. Unmasked as a Monophysite, this ambitious man was in the end deposed by the Pope and forced to quit his see. Agapetus replaced him by Mennas, a hieromonachus and head of the great hospital in Constantinople which bore the name of Samson.[2]

The Pope had convoked a synod in the Greek capital to decide various points, especially to repress the heretical intrigues, regarding which ninety-six heads of monasteries in Constantinople and

[1] Cassiodorus to Thomas and Peter, *Var.* 12, n. 20, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 376. LIBERATUS, *Breviarium*, c. 21: "*imperator pro multis fisci expensis . . . supplicationes papae noluit audire.*" The account in the *Liber pont.*, 1, 287. *Agapitus*, n. 95, must be corrected by this, for there the theological matters are placed quite in the foreground. The following passage in the *Liber pont.* regarding Justinian's pretext for making war should be noticed: "*Iustinianus Augustus indignatus est Theodato regi, eo quod occidisset reginam Amalasuenta, filiam Theodorici regis, commendatam sibi, qui* (instead of *quae*) *eum regem fecerat.*"

[2] The account of an eye-witness of the sojourn of Agapetus in Constantinople, and particularly of his death, is given in BARONIUS, *Annals*, an. 536, n. 59 ff., from the cod. vat., 1538. On the Pope's resistance to Anthimus he says, n. 60: "*columnam se suffulsit immobilem.*"

the neighbourhood had sent him a petition, when he was suddenly taken ill, and departed this life on April 22, 536. He died, says a western eye-witness, with signs of joy that formed a striking contrast to the grief of those present. Bishops from different provinces came in great number to the funeral; the streets resounded with psalms chanted by the long procession of priests and monks. The public squares, porticoes, and even the roofs failed to hold the crowd of people. All were full of veneration for Peter's successor; many extolled the departed; no bishop, nay, not even an emperor, concludes the account, ever had so grand and wonderful a funeral. The mortal remains of Agapetus were enclosed in a leaden shell and sent back to Rome, where they were buried that same year in the atrium of St. Peter's.[1]

Constantinople has ever been a dangerous city to the Popes. John I. had returned thence only to die in a dungeon. Agapetus departed this life there whilst vainly interceding for Italy and struggling against heresy. Vigilius, the next Pope after Agapetus to journey to East Rome, had to undergo a moral martyrdom at the hands of Justinian. Finally, Martin I., who, later on, was carried thither by force, owes his martyr's crown to a course of ill-usage which began there. But even in Old Rome itself, the seat of the Papacy, Constantinople, with its abuse of power, was to be disastrous to the next successor of Agapetus.

Silverius and Vigilius

327. Agapetus was succeeded by Silverius, of Frusino in Campania, son of Hormisdas, an earlier Pope, and hitherto a Roman sub-deacon. Owing to the circumstances of the moment his appointment was not by election; he was placed upon the Pontifical throne by King Theodahat, but the choice was subsequently ratified by the clergy. So far the Popes had usually been chosen from the ranks of the Roman deacons. The Archdeacon of Rome, in particular, stood, so to speak, on the step of the Papal throne. Leo I., Hilary, Felix III., Symmachus, Hormisdas, Boniface II., had all been deacons at the time of their election. John II. had, indeed, been a presbyter, but Silverius formed a still more notable exception, being a sub-deacon. His consecration seems to have taken place on June 8, 536. The sad figure of this unfortunate

[1] The account is in BARONIUS, l.c., n. 64 ff. *Liber pont.*, I, 286, n. 96.

Pontiff fitly ends the series of Popes who, within a space of ten years, had occupied the See of Peter.

The anger of the Empress Theodora knew no rest. In her womanlike passion she sought to avenge the fall of Anthimus. Unhappily she found a tool in Vigilius the deacon, then in Constantinople, the same who had already once before almost reached the Papal dignity through his nomination by Boniface II., but had never actually obtained it. The deacon was weak enough to make promises to the woman, who offered him the Papacy, together with seven hundred pounds in gold. He agreed that when Pope he would endeavour to carry out her will as far as possible. There is no proof that he openly promised to establish heresy, but the Empress believed in her own mind that it would at last come to this. She does not seem to have troubled herself with the means whereby to win over to her plans her husband Justinian, who was irreproachably orthodox.[1]

Vigilius returned to Rome with letters of recommendation from the Court. The General Belisarius at that time ruled the city from the Pincian Palace, where he had taken up his residence, while the Goths, who had concentrated their forces at Ravenna, were already on their way to Rome, which they intended to besiege.

The efforts of Theodora and Vigilius were to be vigorously seconded in Rome by Antonina, the wife of Belisarius. Like Theodora she had risen from the lowest rank of society to be the consort of the great Roman General, and what she wished for above all was to retain the favour of the Empress.

Certain Byzantines who were in the secret now produced a forged document, in which Pope Silverius offered the Gothic besiegers of Rome to play the traitor and to open to them the gate close to the Lateran, viz. the *Porta Asinaria*. Belisarius,

[1] The accounts of Vigilius and of the last days of Silverius given by the second *Vita Silverii* in the *Liber pont.*, I, 291, n. 100 f., and the *Vita Vigilii*, I, 296, n. 102 ff., are by some spiteful adversary of Vigilius. They should be corrected by the statements of Liberatus in the *Breviarium*, c. 22 ff., by the remarks of Procopius (*De bello goth.*, I), and certain other witnesses. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, Introd., I, XXXIX., his notes on the text, and particularly his article *Vigile et Pélage* (*Révue des questions histor.*, 1884, II., 369 ff.), with the reply to Chamard, ibid., 1885, I., 579 ff. Cp. SAVIO, *Il papa Vigilio*, 1904. The *Liber pontificalis* is nevertheless to be trusted in much of its information, above all in its statements regarding the character of Vigilius and the origin of his unfortunate behaviour. That he acted "*amore episcopatus et auri*" is also stated by Liberatus. Nevertheless the latter must not be implicitly followed either, for his work is hostile to the attitude taken by Pope Vigilius towards the Emperor in the notorious controversy of the "Three Chapters."

though he did not believe the letter to be genuine, nevertheless charged Silverius with treachery. The charge is significant, since it makes us see that the Pope was certainly not regarded as a foe of the Goths, his former masters, to whom, indeed, he had never proved disloyal, even in the most difficult circumstances. Just as little could he have been accused of hostility to the Romans, for, according to Procopius, he had even induced the inhabitants of the city to open the gates of their own accord on the approach of the overwhelmingly powerful forces of Eastern Rome, that all bloodshed might be averted. Silverius was first summoned before Belisarius in the Pincian Palace, where he was openly accused of treason. Antonina and Belisarius, moreover, demanded that, obediently to the orders of the Empress, he should condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and confirm the Monophysite doctrine by an official decree. This was much the same thing as demanding his abdication, which, indeed, was the object of the whole proceeding. The real crime of Silverius was his unwillingness to betray the Church's faith, not his supposed treachery to the forces of the Empire.

After returning from the audience he no longer took up his residence in the Lateran, but in Sta. Sabina, on the Aventine, far from the walls and gates of the city. Thither another summons, together with a safe-conduct, was soon brought him by Photius, Antonina's son. Silverius accordingly betook himself a second and yet a third time to the Pincian Palace, though he was well aware of the violent measures which were being secretly prepared against him in consequence of his firmness. In vain did his friends (*consiliarii*) warn him against trusting in the assurances of the Greeks. The third time, after he had prayed and commended his cause to God, he went accompanied by a number of his clergy. These were, however, made to wait at the "first and second curtain"—that is, in the ante-chambers. Silverius was led alone into the audience-hall, where Belisarius sat at the foot of the couch on which his wife was reclining. Antonina began to upbraid the Pope vehemently for his pretended treachery. While she was yet speaking, John, a sub-deacon who had been won over, approached Silverius, snatched from his shoulders the pallium which marked his episcopal rank, and then, having thus declared him deposed, led him into a side-room, where his other robes were removed. Having then been vested in a monk's habit, he

was delivered into safe custody. Another sub-deacon, named Xystus, had meanwhile announced to those anxiously awaiting Silverius that he was no longer Pope, but a mere monk, upon which they all fled in alarm and terror. Next day the presbyters, deacons, and all the clergy were summoned by Belisarius and informed that they must elect a fresh Pope. Under pressure, and though Silverius had never resigned, Vigilius the deacon was actually elected to the office for which he longed. To Belisarius he had promised two hundred of his seven hundred pounds in gold, though he eventually refused to pay the sum. But what was still worse, he also showed no inclination to confirm heresy. He likewise refused to consent to the rehabilitation of Anthimus. After all, blind ambition is something very different from betrayal of the Faith. A letter, supposed to have been written by Vigilius after his usurpation of the Papal throne, and containing heretical declarations, bears unmistakable signs of being a forgery.[1]

328. Vigilius was never regarded as true and rightful Bishop of Rome by those among the clergy who had the Church's law at heart, at least not so long as Silverius survived. The author of the second account in the *Liber pontificalis* regarding Silverius lets this be clearly understood.[2]

Vigilius was consecrated on March 19, 537, soon after Silverius had been declared deposed. In spite of this, the contemporary Roman writer continues to describe him as Archdeacon.[3]

How deeply the dauntless confessor, whose dignity was never lowered but rather increased by Byzantine violence, shamed the fickle deacon who betrayed both his Church and his own honour! With admiring sympathy we follow Silverius into exile at Patara, in Lycia, whither he was conducted by the myrmidons of Belisarius. The good local bishop was shocked at the sight of a deposed Pope dressed as a monk. He at once hurried to the Emperor Justinian at Constantinople, and addressed him as follows: "What hast thou allowed to happen? There are many kings in the world, none is raised so high as the Pope, who rules the Church throughout the world, and who now wanders abroad as a homeless

[1] The way in which Langen (*Gesch. der röm. Kirche*, 2, 345) quotes and uses this letter as genuine (MANSI, 9, 696; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 909, and Addenda) would lead one to suppose that its authenticity had never been called into question. Cp., however, the well-grounded objections in PITRA, *Anal. novissima*, p. 465 ff., and DUCHESNE, *Révue des questions hist.*, 1884, II., 373; 1885, I., 584; GRISAR, *Anal. rom.*, 1, 55 ff.

[2] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 295, note 24.

[3] The name "Archdeacon," in the *Liber pont.*, 1, 293, *Silverius*, n. 101.

exile." The Emperor, troubled by such words, was ready to send the Pope back to Rome that his cause might be fairly examined; but his wife Theodora, by fraud and apparently, too, with the help of Pelagius, the Roman deacon then on a visit to Constantinople, contrived to have him indeed brought back to Italy, but there consigned to his foe, Vigilius the usurper.[1]

Vigilius sent Silverius, in the charge of two *defensores* and several slaves, to Palmaria; this was one of the three Pontine islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea, opposite the promontory of Circe. These islands in antiquity had been the place of banishment of many Romans. Once here, the consort of Belisarius and the hard-hearted Vigilius heaped humiliations and sufferings on Silverius, striving thus to execute the wishes of the Emperor's spouse. Such were the privations which the Pope had to endure—according to the *Liber pontificalis* being even deprived of food—that death did not tarry in releasing him from his torment. The date of his demise is, however, uncertain.[2]

The contemporary account justly describes him as a martyr. The same account also states that many sick people hastened to his tomb on the island, and by prayer obtained wonderful cures. The earliest proof of his receiving liturgical honours is found in an eleventh-century calendar of feasts, preserved in Sta. Maria, on the Aventine.[3]

Vigilius was now the sole possessor of the Papal dignity, and was accordingly recognised by the Roman clergy, who thus made good the absence of an election. The Pope may have sought to make amends for the manner in which he obtained his position by striving to fulfil its duties, and particularly by labouring in defence of the true Faith. We have a really model epistle addressed by him, in 540, to the Emperor Justinian against the Eastern heresies.

[1] The Bishop of Patara, in LIBERATUS, *Breviarium*, c. 22. Pelagius, ibid.

[2] Beside the *Liber pont.* and Liberatus, cp. PROCOPIUS, *Hist. secreta*, 1, p. 13, 19, ed. DINDORF. Cardinal Baronius shows his love of truth by sharply condemning Vigilius, *Annal.* a. 538, n. 18: "*Vigilius pondere scelerum praegravatus*," &c.; a. 555, n. 2: "*Justo Dei iudicio in insula defunctus confectus ipse aerumnis ex morbo, qui assolet sanctum praedecessorem Silverium deportatum in insulam illic animam exhalare. Qui cum malis artibus ad pontificatum sibi paravit ascensum, ipsum ad finem, tumentis semper agitatus est fluctibus*," &c. "*Nunquam tamen ipsa navis [ecclesiae] emergit in scopulos*," &c.

[3] L. GUÉRARD, *Un fragment de calendrier romain au moyen-âge*, in the *Mélanges d'archéol.*, 13 (1893, pp. 153–175), 169. This amplifies a statement which Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, 1, 295, note 23, borrows from Papebroek.

Its language must have made the scales fall from the Empress's eyes. In this document the Pope energetically defends the great Synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon, the decrees of Leo I., and the conduct of Agapetus against the Patriarch Anthimus.[1]

A declaration of Pope Vigilius, preserved in the *Liber pontificalis*, expresses well his attitude and frame of mind. It purports to be an extract from the correspondence between Vigilius and the Empress Theodora. The authenticity of the correspondence may not be certain, but the remark in question corresponds with the character given Vigilius by history: "Once upon a time I spoke foolishly; I can in no wise carry out thy will and restore to office the deposed heretic Anthimus. Though unworthy, I am the Vicar of Blessed Peter the Apostle, as were also my predecessors, the venerable Agapetus and Silverius, who condemned Anthimus."[2]

329. In the East the firmness of Vigilius and Justinian's steadfast orthodoxy would soon have re-established peace in the Church had not the Emperor occasioned fresh disturbances by his interference in theological questions and by his uncalled-for religious ordinances. Justinian issued an edict against what was known as Origenism, in which he made his own the views of the late famous Abbot Saba of the great lavra near Jerusalem; the synods which followed the Court, quite unnecessarily hastened to give their support to this edict.

The Emperor next promulgated (544) a law against the Nestorians, hoping thereby to bring back the Monophysites into the Church. In this he condemned the so-called Three Chapters, a name which covered certain writings of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa, and the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. To the Emperor and his advisers the Nestorians appeared to be using these names and writings as a shield. The subject of the Three Chapters, thanks to the amateur theologian seated on the throne, to his bishops and synods, soon became one of the most burning questions of the Empire, though intrinsically it was of slight importance. In the East, and subsequently also in the West, the subject caused a state of excitement which in our day seems almost incredible, and threatened to produce a widespread schism.

[1] Mansi, 9, 35; Guenther (*Collectio Avellana*, 1), p. 348; Jaffé-Kaltenbr., n. 910.
[2] *Liber pont.*, 1, 296, n. 103: . . . "*etsi indignus, vicarius sum beati Petri apostoli.*"

Whilst, in the East, Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters was widely subscribed to by the bishops, the Western provinces of the Empire, with good reason, showed less compliance. Not indeed that the edict was wrong in its condemnation, but it seemed uncalled for and inexpedient. They feared, too, that it was directed to some extent against the Council of Chalcedon. The violent conduct of the Easterns, headed by their dogmatising sovereign, was, moreover, in itself calculated to rouse antipathy and grave misgivings. The strong-willed monarch, now that the question had been raised, was, however, determined to secure for his pet edict the assent of the West, and especially of Pope Vigilius, and thus transform it into a doctrinal decision of the whole Church. To accomplish this he resolved to bring Vigilius to Constantinople, and it was decided to seize upon him by force.

We should not be far wrong did we follow the *Liber pontificalis* in ascribing an active part in this plan to the Empress Theodora. Had this vengeful woman given up all the hopes once centred on her favourite? Or was it that she wished to vent on Vigilius her feminine spite?

330. An animated and extraordinary scene was enacted in the Transtiberine quarter of Rome on November 22, 545.

Pope Vigilius, on this day, the feast of the Roman martyr Cæcilia, was celebrating the Liturgy in her titular church on the further side of the Tiber. Whilst the service was in progress the whole quarter and all points of egress from the church were gradually occupied by Imperial troops. The Pope had not yet pronounced the last prayer (the *oratio ad complendum, super populum*, as an authority calls it), when an Imperial official, Anthimus the *Scriba*, forced his way through the crowd thronging the Basilica and bade the Pope immediately follow him. In answer to the question: Whither? the reply was: To Constantinople; and Vigilius, who had not even been allowed to conclude the service, was dragged down to the Tiber, where a boat lay ready.

The populace followed in fear and suspense. After he had embarked with some of his faithful clergy, it became, however, clear that the crowd was divided in its opinions. It may be that they had been stirred up, or, possibly, a mob consisting of enemies of Vigilius had been got together for the occasion. The

fact is that whilst some stood in tears and begged the Pope to conclude the prayer that had been interrupted, responding then with a loud Amen, another crowd collected on the shore and hurled coarse invective after the departing Pope. They threw stones, clods, and old crocks at the boat, and cried: "Take with thee hunger, take with thee death; thou hast brought evil upon the Romans, may evil be thy companion."[1]

Vigilius left the city, which he was never to see again, in the greatest ferment. He had never succeeded in winning over all those of his flock who were aware of the means he had used to raise himself to the highest dignity in the Church. Many openly murmured against him, even whilst acknowledging him as Pope. His enemies, with the utmost disregard for truth, related shocking stories of his deeds of violence. One of his notaries he had given so staggering a blow that the man had expired on the spot; Asterius, his niece's husband, he had caused to be seized by night and flogged to death, &c. &c.[2]

What must have been the feelings of Vigilius while the ship glided down the deserted Tiber towards the sea, and he could reflect upon his past life in Rome, now brought to so tragic a close. He must have thought with some misgivings of Constantinople, to which he was returning—the city where he had begun that disgraceful career which had borne him to the Papacy. There he was to see the dignity for which he had given so much, and even his own person, deeply humiliated by the tyrant. Severe indeed was the penance which awaited him in the capital.

The cries, moreover, which had echoed in his ears as he took his departure reminded him that Rome had suffered during his pontificate from famine and mortality. Such cries he must have heard in the city before, but they had then not been directed against him. Heartrending indeed had been the groans and sighs of the citizens of Rome over their sufferings during the Gothic war of his time; unspeakable distress filled the streets, particularly during the last siege of the city under King Totila. Famine was rampant, and contagious diseases swept away countless numbers. Pope Vigilius, because he stood for the Byzantines, was denounced by his opponents as the cause of all the misfortunes of the war. We cannot, however, at present describe these events, for the

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 297, n. 104.
[2] Ibid., n. 103 ff.

history of the city of Rome during the weary Gothic war belongs to another place.

The tragic departure of Vigilius from the West, involving a long absence from Rome of any Pope, invites us to cast a glance on the work done in the West by the last Popes, a matter to which we were unable to give sufficient attention in sketching the history of their pontificates.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONS OF THE PAPACY WITH THE NEW NATIONS OF THE WEST

Rome's Tasks

331. As we have seen, the Chair of Peter had been endangered latterly by a certain hesitancy and uncertainty about the elections. Through the interference of monarchs, through the worldliness of the clergy and of the Popes themselves, the Papacy had been dragged down from the lofty heights in which its place really was. But, however hampered by shortsight or self-seeking, even when difficulties from without were, to all seeming, diverting it from its true task, the Divine guidance never forsook this See, but enabled it to perform unremittingly the duties which devolved upon it among the nations.

The action of the Primate abroad never showed any signs of flagging, even at the very time when history shows us the papal power weakened at its Roman headquarters, either through the policy of secular governments, or through party feeling at home, or through human shortcomings in the Popes themselves or their counsellors; the power of their pastoral language, before which all Christian nations bow, must seem to an onlooker still more extraordinary, bearing in mind their situation at home.

In the West at that period the Bishop of Rome, everywhere acknowledged as the centre of Catholic unity, was nobly seconded in his endeavours by influential bishops.

Whereas the Western Roman Empire was being rent asunder to form new political agglomerations, the Catholic bishops of Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Spain remained closely bound together. Many kept up active intercourse with one another; in spite of national barriers, by word and deed they kept alive, even in far-off lands, the Roman idea of unity and catholicity, giving it, however, a higher meaning—that, namely, of the Church.

The Arian bishops in the new kingdoms were united by no such bond.

Arianism, which practically everywhere assumed the form of a State religion, felt neither the desire nor the need to stretch beyond the limits of its own country or beyond the range of view of the sovereign of the land. Even had it so desired, it could not have done so. Its bishops were men of no importance; its religious potency almost nil. Compared, in respect to action and influence, with the cultured Latins, distinguished both for their education and force of character, who usually occupied the Catholic sees, the Arians were put completely in the shade. The contrast was increased by the Arians' spite and jealousy against the Roman system and the Catholic Church.

332. One of the most distinguished of the Catholic bishops, who gave expression to the ecclesiastical catholicity of Rome, was the Burgundian bishop, **St. Avitus of Vienne.** The conviction of the Gallic bishops that they were under the successor of Peter, and had in him a pledge of stability not shared by the heretical party in their country, is very faithfully reflected in the letters of this writer, whose native strength was tempered by Roman culture.

Avitus exclaims: If Arianism is not to be our ruin, we must with all our might take the part of the Bishop of Rome. His words show that Arianism really contributed to facilitate the work of the Primacy through the opposition it excited and kept alive.[1]

The Bishop of Vienne is equally attached to the Roman Empire and to the lawful throne of Burgundy; he would fain see the two brought more closely together. Himself a Roman by birth, he seeks to bestow on the Burgundian State the best that Rome could give.

Unspeakable was his delight when Sigismund, King of the Burgundians, entered the Catholic fold. He and Chlodovec, King of the Franks, were the only Catholic sovereigns among the rulers of that day. King Sigismund, fascinated by the attraction of Rome, of her tombs, and the glory of her Church, betook himself thither, and was there received by Pope Symmachus

[1] To the senators of Rome, Faustus and Symmachus, *ep.* 34, ed. PEIPER (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, 6, 2), p. 64: "*Si nobiscum huiusmodi pericula formidatis, expedit, ut gubernatorem vestrum participato labore tueamini.*"

with honour and affection. Under the impressive influences of this new world, the convert listened eagerly to the admonitions of Symmachus, who bade him reign henceforth as beseemed a Catholic sovereign. After his return he begged the Pope, through Avitus, to give him often, at least by letter, the benefit of the advice of him who is "head of the whole Church." He also asked for relics of the Saints to be sent him, as those he had himself brought from Rome were not numerous enough.[1]

The letters of Avitus are a copious source of information regarding the history of religious and educational progress during his whole period. His epistles are addressed to Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and to the Burgundian and Frankish kings. Throughout he is occupied with the interests of religion and the furtherance of unity and peace. "I am a watchman," he says; "I hold the signal-horn, and may not be silent." From Pope Hormisdas he requested and received a detailed account of the course of the negotiations with the Greek Church, for these matters were also of interest to him and his episcopal colleagues. Such were the results of Rome's universal rule.[2]

Hormisdas rejoiced over this interest shown in Eastern matters. By papal letters he put public opinion in Gaul on its guard against the skilful perversions of the Greeks. With the support of the prayers of his faithful brethren in the episcopate he looks forward to the triumph of the Catholic Faith in the vast regions of the East.[3]

Cæsarius of Arles, a Supporter of the Popes

333. To the Popes the see of Arles was, however, even more important than that of Vienne, where Avitus was Bishop.

This fortified city, lying near the sea at the mouth of the Rhone, was at that time one of the centres of the Visigothic kingdom. Formerly Arles had been much favoured by the

[1] *Epist. Sigismundi ad Symmachum papam*, in THIEL, p. 730: "*pontificatus vester vel praesentem monitis docuit vel absentem intercessionibus acquisivit.*"

[2] "*Speculator sum, tubam teneo, tacere mihi non licet*," *Ep.* 49. The epistle of Pope Hormisdas to Avitus (February 15, 517), in THIEL, p. 783.

[3] For the relations of Avitus with the Holy See, cp. GRISAR, *Anal. rom.*, I, VIII., "*Roma e la chiesa de' Franchi*," p. 348 ff., and C. BINDING, *Das burgundisch-romanische Königreich* (1868), who says, p. 130: "To the internal unity of the Catholic Creed, to its united action, and indirectly to the strengthening of the Roman Primacy, much was contributed by its foe, *i.e.* by heresy"; and again, p. 174: "Avitus's call was for union in the Church, union between East and West, between Rome and Byzantium. . . . This grand Catholic union, as Avitus understood it, is reflected in his letters."

Ill. 156.—Two Popes with the Pallium, and St. Agnes.
(Mosaic in the Basilica of S. Agnese. After a photograph; cp. Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte*, Pl. 274.)

Popes, but its ecclesiastical privileges had been curtailed by Pope Anastasius II., who had withdrawn from the Archbishop of Arles certain suffragan sees which had been subordinated to him by Leo the Great. These Anastasius made over to Vienne. This measure was revoked by Pope Symmachus, who, in doing so, confessed quite candidly to Æonius, Archbishop of Arles, that he blamed the mistaken conduct of his predecessor in acting contrary to tradition.

How much would the dignity of the Apostolic See suffer, he says, were it to interfere with the arrangements it had itself made. For his own justification Pope Symmachus, in an epistle to the "Bishops of Gaul," roundly declares that Pope Anastasius had allowed himself to take a hasty step, "owing to the urgent requests of secular persons."[1]

The celebrity of Arles and its importance as the pivot of the Popes' action in Gaul was greatly enhanced by its illustrious Archbishop, Cæsarius.

This saintly man, who was full of the spirit of God, during his episcopal career (502–542) became, so to speak, the right arm of the Papacy in those parts. From Pope Symmachus he received the commission of watching the course of ecclesiastical events throughout the Gallic and Spanish portions of the vast kingdom of the Visigoths. As Vicar of the Apostolic See, he had to convoke bishops to the synods; whosoever failed to respond to his call incurred canonical penalties; only such matters as could not be settled within the province were to be brought before the Apostolic See, nor might any cleric or bishop proceed to Rome without a permit from the Archbishop of Arles, the Papal Vicar.[2]

Such were the rules laid down by Pope Symmachus, who placed unbounded confidence in the Bishop's zeal for the Church.

He grew to value Cæsarius yet more, when he had learnt to know him personally on the occasion of the Archbishop's visit to the Tombs of the Apostles. Cæsarius took this opportunity to submit various questions of discipline to the Holy See. The form in which these questions were presented and the reply given, as we may see from the copy yet preserved, is but an early instance of those thousands of documents containing questions and decisions,

[1] *Epistolae Arelatenses*, ed. GUNDLACH (*Mon. Germ. hist., Epp.* 3), p. 34; THIEL, p. 655; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., 754.

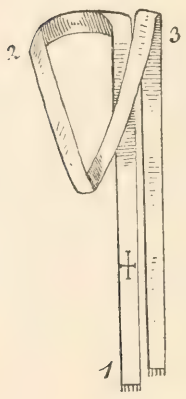
[2] *Epp. Arelatenses*, p. 41; THIEL, 728; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 769. Letter dated June 11, 514.

which all through the Middle Ages and down to our own day testify to the activity of the Popes.

The decisions given in the case of Cæsarius, and dated 513, are, however, equally intended for all the bishops placed under his jurisdiction; as the text runs, the addressee must bring them to the knowledge of all. The decisions deal with waste of church property; Holy Orders obtained by simony; hasty elevation of laymen to ecclesiastical dignities; seduction of women; marriage of consecrated virgins or holy widows; and finally the interference of unqualified persons in the election of bishops.[1]

On this occasion Symmachus granted Cæsarius the right, or possibly only confirmed it, of using the pallium within the boundaries of Gaul.[2]

This is the earliest instance known of an investiture with the pallium, an honour which afterwards was frequently conferred. To wear the pallium was one of the highest ecclesiastical distinctions. The article in question was a kind of white woollen scarf embroidered with crosses, which at that time came down low from the shoulders. In Italy and in some other parts of the West only a privileged few among the bishops and archbishops were allowed to wear it; elsewhere the pallium, in a different form, was in general use among bishops. Its shape, and the manner in which it was worn until the ninth century, showed the pallium of the Roman Church to be a descendant of the classical pallium, so folded as to be reduced to a mere strip. This had formerly been a part of the philosopher's and teacher's dress, and thus naturally came to be used by the heads of the Church. Similar strips or scarfs were worn by the higher Imperial officials during the Late Empire, though in this case the ornament was put on in a different way and was also of a different shape, being really the ancient toga closely folded. The ecclesiastical pallium first appears in Roman monuments on the portraits of Popes Cornelius and Xystus II., and of Bishops Cyprian and Optatus at the Tomb of



Ill. 157.—The Roman Pallium in its Olden Form.

[1] *Epp. Arelatenses*, p. 37; Thiel, 723; Jaffé-Kaltenbr., n. 764: "*Haec ad omnium episcoporum volumus perferri notitiam.*"

[2] *Epp. Arelatenses; Vita S. Caesarii*, *Acta SS.*, vi. Aug. p. 71.

St. Cornelius in the Catacomb of Callistus. The painting may probably be ascribed to the time of John III. (561–574). The next representation extant is that on the mosaic in the Basilica of St. Agnes on the *Via Nomentana*, dating from the time of Honorius I. (Ill. 156). As may be judged from this and other monuments, the Popes wore the pallium (Ill. 157) so that one end (1) fell low down in front from their left shoulder, while the other was carried backwards round the neck and over the right shoulder (2), allowed to fall somewhat over the breast, the remaining portion being again thrown over the left shoulder (3), whence it hung down at the back.[1]

Besides the pallium, Cæsarius whilst in Rome received for his deacons the distinction of wearing a dalmatic shaped and trimmed like that of the Roman deacons. Any one who has perused the list of civil dignitaries in the Roman Empire after Constantine, *i.e.* the *notitia dignitatum*, and seen the regulations there laid down for the outward habit and pomp of civil officials or who has before his eyes the numerous and minute directions to the same effect given by Cassiodorus, cannot be surprised at the importance here attributed to mere accessories of dress. In such outward things the Church could not escape the influence of the age, and, with a broad mind, she made the best she could of the secular customs of the day.

A synod which Cæsarius held later on in Vicus Vasensis (Vaison) took steps to introduce into the vast province the usages of the Roman Church. Amongst other things it was decreed that the name of the reigning Pope should be mentioned in the Liturgy.[2]

As far back as 506 the indefatigable Archbishop, by virtue of his papal authority, had assembled such bishops of Gaul and Spain, as belonged to the Visigothic kingdom of Alaric, in council at S. Agatha (Agde). The assembly decided to hold every year a large council (an intention which was not carried out in practice),

[1] GRISAR, *Das römische Pallium, und die ältesten liturgischen Scharpen*, in the "*Festschr., . . . des deutschen Campo Santo in Rom*," 1897, p. 83 ff. Cp. with this my addenda in *Anal. rom.*, I, 542 ff., *Il vestito liturgico dei vescovi e dei papi; il pallio sacro*, and p. 675 ff.; WILPERT, *L'arte* (Roma), 1898, p. 102 ff.; BRAUN, *Die pontificalen Gewänder* (1898), p. 132 ff. The oldest picture of Popes with the pallium is given in the present work, vol. iii., Ill. 201. See also ibid., Ill. 191 and 223, where the shortness of the portion hanging down in front, a peculiarity of Ravenna, may be noticed.

[2] For the Synod of Vicus Vasensis in 529, see *Concilia merovingica*, ed. MAASSEN, (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq., concilia aevi merov.*), p. 55; MANSI, 8, 727.

and in so doing appealed to an earlier decree to this effect issued by Pope Hilary. In one of their canons the Bishops lay especial stress upon the directions given by Innocent I. and Siricius with regard to the celibacy of the clergy. The laws of the Roman Church seem to have made the rule even in these regions.[1]

334. After the city of Arles had passed under the rule of King Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, Cæsarius, conformably with the spirit of the papal ordinances, continued to work by means of councils. He organised at least those of the three provinces immediately under his control—Arles, Aquæ (Aix), and Alpes Maritimæ (Embrun). He well knew the advantage of union and joint action. With clear insight and ready judgment he was able to secure great results from these gatherings.

This was particularly the case at the memorable Council of Arausio (Orange) in 529, a council well known in the history of the development of the doctrine of Grace as *Arausicanum secundum*.

The Synod was in itself quite insignificant. In fact, there is some doubt whether it may be regarded as a Synod at all. In spite of this its dogmatic decree had most far-reaching consequences, being in later times received by the whole Church as a decision against the Pelagians, demanding unquestioning obedience no less than the decrees of the largest councils. What obtained for this Synod such weight was the authority of the Apostolic See, which Cæsarius had invoked in a timely and energetic manner, and which, after the close of the Council, remained to lend force to its decrees. The history of the Synod demonstrates so well the authority of the Roman See in doctrinal decisions that it demands some consideration here.

In Southern Gaul, at that time, the question was how best to stamp out the after-effects of Pelagianism. This dangerous heresy, in the milder form of Semi-Pelagianism, still dragged on its existence with its practical denial of the need of Grace for salvation. With his learned pen Cæsarius had written a treatise "On Grace and Free Will," and, with another document describing the ravages of the ever-spreading heresy, had sent it to Pope Felix IV., from whom he received an answer full of praise and encouragement.

On the occasion of the consecration of a church, finding him-

[1] Mansi, 8, 323, can. 9: "*papae Innocentii ordinatio et Siricii episcopi auctoritas.*"

self in Arausio surrounded by fourteen of his bishops, he determined to take advantage of their presence to hold a quasi-synod, at which they might accept and promulgate a series of propositions against Semi-Pelagianism. The basis of these propositions was furnished by some brief doctrinal decisions sent to Cæsarius from the Apostolic See at some time unknown to us. As his ancient biography informs us, the Archbishop had kept them ready "in order to be able at any moment to produce full proof of true doctrine with the help of tradition." In these ably-drafted theses those who denied the need of Grace were deprived of their last refuge, condemnation being pronounced on the opinion that the beginning of Faith, or the pious inclination to saving Faith, could be produced by human power and without supernatural aid.

These propositions were joyfully adopted by the little gathering. The assembled bishops, in the preface to their decree, state expressly that it is their intention to set before those who err certain propositions which come from the Holy See, and which define the Catholic Faith in lucid terms.[1]

The decree was carried to Rome by the priest-abbot, Armenius, with the minutes of the Council. He was to beg Pope Felix to confirm the proceedings, not indeed because any confirmation was necessary, but evidently that opposition might be crushed more effectually. Felix having in the meantime departed this world, the second Council of Arausio was duly ratified by his successor, Boniface II., whom he had himself nominated. This confirmation is the only document of Boniface which has come down to us.[2]

Under the name of *Arausicanum*, the above decree was at once accepted generally. It was no longer permissible to doubt the absolute certainty of this doctrine laid down by the Council, and Semi-Pelagianism was soon driven off the field by a Synod of which the authority was made almost equal to that of an œcumenical council. Such great and decisive power can only have come to the Synod through the communicated authority of Rome. It was, however, due to Cæsarius that the petty local Synod of Arausio adopted the language of Rome. Few understood so

[1] *Concil. merov.*, p. 46: "*Secundum admonitionem et auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ iustum ac rationabile visum est, ut pauca capitula ab apostolica nobis sede transmissa . . . ab omnibus observanda proferre . . . deberimus.*"

[2] The ratification is dated January 25, 531. *P. L.*, LXV., 31; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 881. Cp. LÖNING, *Gesch. des deutschen Kirchenrechts*, I, 544.

well as he how necessary religious agreement with Rome was, at a time when all the ancient, outward forms of the Empire were being swept away. Few saw as clearly as this untiring worker—who was at once a bishop, a Christian statesman, a father to the poor, and a founder of monasteries—the social needs of the period and the Church's power to satisfy them.

335. Cæsarius also served the Roman Church as a link with the Austrasian kingdom. When Theudebert of Austrasia, the grandson of Chlodovec, sent Moderic, one of his noblemen, to Rome to bring before the Apostolic See on his behalf a question concerning marriage, the Pope's reply was transmitted to the King by the intermediary of Cæsarius of Arles.[1]

Nor was the Gallic Church to escape the influence of the Primacy even later. Pope John II. intervened in the decree of the Council of Massilia (Marseilles), 533, against Bishop Contumeliosus of Riez, and made it even more stringent. Moreover, when Contumeliosus appealed to Agapetus I., fresh judges were appointed by this Pope.[2]

Pope Hormisdas issued a decree in favour of a monastery near Arles, which forms the earliest instance known of a papal letter granting protection and exemption to a monastic establishment.[3]

Pope Vigilius, in a document dated May 22, 545, raised Cæsarius's successor, Archbishop Auxanius, to the rank of Papal Vicar (*vicarius apostolicae sedis*), an office which had also been held by Cæsarius. The country of "Gaul," which this document attributes to Auxanius, here, as well as in the similar letters addressed to the later Archbishops of Arles, Aurelian and Sapaudus, means the great Frankish kingdom which Childebert I. had established at the cost of great bloodshed, and to which Arles belonged.[4]

Untold suffering had been caused throughout this land by prolonged war and revolution. The Roman See afforded relief as far as it could. In spite of all the wealth squandered by Rome

[1] *Epp. Arelatenses*, 57; *P.L.*, LXIX., 21; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 906. On Cæsarius and his relations with Rome, cp. GRISAR, *Anal. rom.*, I, 343 ff., 360.

[2] Agapetus to Cæsarius, *Epp. Arelatenses*, 56; *P.L.*, LXVI., 46; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 890.

[3] THIEL, p. 988; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 864. The document belongs approximately to the year 515. BLUMENSTOCK, *Der päpstl. Schutz im Mittelalter* (1890), p. 27.

[4] Vigilius to Auxanius, *Epp. Arelatenses*, 61; *P.L.*, LXIX., 27, 29; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., 913 ff. On the subsequent Archbishops of Arles, see my *Anal. rom.*, I, 360 ff.

on her glorious basilicas and tombs of the saints, on public worship and ecclesiastical government, the Popes could still afford large sums for the relief of their distant brethren.

When St. Cæsarius left Rome he took away with him 8000 gold *solidi* as a gift from the Roman Church and various rich members of it. In returning to his episcopal city, where he was greeted with psalms, he brought back with him in triumph a whole host of redeemed prisoners. Pope Symmachus is extolled in the *Liber pontificalis* for having likewise redeemed prisoners of war in Liguria, Milan, and different other places, afterwards dismissing them to their own country with presents. The same source also tells of the kindness shown by this merciful Pope to the victims of the Vandal persecution, who languished in exile and the greatest misery in the deserts of North Africa and the island of Sardinia.

North Africa and Spain

336. The Vandal King, Trasamund, since 508, had transported some two hundred and twenty bishops to Sardinia. These brave confessors of Christ were annually supplied by Symmachus with clothing and money. The affection of the Roman Church was an even greater comfort to them than the gift itself.

Few indeed of these harassed bishops survived till the hour of release. A mere handful were able to attend the General Council of Africa, which, after the fall of the Vandal kingdom, amidst the rejoicings of all Catholics, was held at Carthage in the Basilica of Faustus to re-establish and reorganise the Church. At this peaceful gathering in 535 the president was Archbishop Reparatus.

Acknowledgment of Rome's pre-eminence was the guiding principle of the assembled Fathers. On the question being raised whether Arian priests of the Vandals, on becoming Catholics, could retain their appointments, it was unanimously agreed to by the bishops that Pope John II. should be asked to decide. They did the same for another doubtful question, namely, whether those who had been baptized by Arians as children could be admitted into the body of the clergy. The embassy which went to Rome consisted of two bishops, Caius and Peter, and the deacon

Reparatus, so well known in Rome through the Acœmetan controversy.[1]

Instead of Pope John, who had died in the meantime, it was his successor, Agapetus, who replied to both questions in the negative. Together with his solution he sent, following in this the usual custom of the Roman Church in similar cases, a collection of ancient canons, since lost, that the bishops might be instructed at first hand concerning the laws of the Church. The papal decision was to be notified to all the bishops of North Africa.

The exclusion from the clergy of the above-mentioned converts from Arianism had its justification in the fear lest they should embrace Catholicism from mere worldly motives. The measure was, however, made milder by the wish expressed by the Pope himself that converted Arian priests should have a share in the ecclesiastical revenues intended for the support of the clergy. He even directed that converts baptized by Arians should be helped out of the Church's funds.[2]

The occasion also furnished Agapetus with an opportunity to invest Reparatus, Archbishop of Carthage, with the metropolitan rights which had previously been a prerogative of his see.[3]

Amidst this business it is pleasant to notice how affectionately Agapetus enters into the joy felt by all the African Faithful over the complete change which had at last occurred. An instance of his sympathy is in the following words from one of his letters: "We renew our rejoicing over your joy, and praise the Lord that He has delivered us from the hand of our enemies. Yea, He has delivered us, for your deliverance is ours, as your sorrow was ours. The Church forms everywhere but one body, and the head feels with twofold intensity every pain which affects the whole body. How many tears did not your oppression and your distress wring from us!"[4]

Many a Christian memorial, brought to light by excavations during the last few years in the once flourishing African provinces

[1] The African Council to John II., in MANSI, 8, 848; GUENTHER, *Coll. Avell.*, 1, 330.

[2] Decision of Agapetus, in MANSI, ibid.; BARONIUS, *Annal.*, ad an. 535, n. 37; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 892. It bears the date September 9, 535.

[3] MANSI, 8, 850; GUENTHER, p. 332; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 893.

[4] The Pope in his letter to the Council specially commends the African Church for being so well aware of the power of the Keys (*potestas claustrorum*) entrusted to the Roman See.

of the Church, unmistakably bears witness to the connection of these sees with Rome, and to the veneration felt for the Roman tombs of the apostles, from which relics were frequently brought to Africa (Ill. 158, facing p. 324).[1]

337. The epistle of Pope Hormisdas to Spain is the last document we shall quote here, as illustrating the relations between the Apostolic See and the Western Churches while Rome was governed by the Goths.

At the request of John, Bishop of Illici (Elche), Hormisdas, in 517, sent him a number of canonical directions. As their title shows, these were intended for "all the bishops of Spain," *i.e.* for all the bishops belonging to the great kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain. The regulations related to the election and consecration of bishops, to simony and the holding of synods. Pope Hormisdas appointed Bishop John to be, in a certain sense, the representative of the Apostolic See in those regions, enjoining him to report to Rome the progress of matters ecclesiastic. At the same time he made Sallustius, Bishop of Hispalis (Sevilla), his Vicar for Southern Spain, *i.e.* for Bætica and Lusitania.[2]

[1] The tegurium shown hails from Megrun, near Tebessa. DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1877, p. 101 ff.; 1878, p. 14 ff.; 25, 115, Pl. 5; and *Capsella Africana*, p. 18.

[2] Hormisdas to John: THIEL, p. 787, cp. p. 106; to the Bishops, p. 788; to Sallustius, p. 979; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 786, 787, 855.

CHAPTER VII

CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN ROME—MODE OF PROCEDURE AT ROMAN SYNODS—CASSIODORUS

Rome and the Scythian Monks

338. During the Gothic period the Easterns twice made the city of Rome a scene of their violent, heretical quarrels; the contrast with the more tractable Western nations was then curiously evident. Not content with the standing religious controversies they were ever fomenting in the Greek portion of the Empire, the Oriental factions began to agitate and create disturbance even in the churches and streets of Rome. They came hither to seek the patronage of the Church's head, to which, indeed, they attached every importance; once there, they were, however, confronted by a judge who insisted on examining calmly and soberly their doctrines, and who did not fear to denounce with all his might whatever was due to mere waywardness.

At the time of Hormisdas, a restless troop of monks from Scythia, led by a certain Leontius, arrived in Rome, and proceeded to bombard the Pope with demands that he should grant his confirmation to a proposition to which they were inordinately attached, and which, so they fondly imagined, would at one stroke cut away the ground from beneath the age-long errors of the Greeks regarding the Divine and human nature of Christ. This proposition ran: "One of the Trinity was crucified," and was in itself, from a theological point of view, perfectly blameless.

Hormisdas received their application very coolly. In Constantinople, whither the Scythian monks had first betaken themselves, their view had been embraced with much more enthusiasm. Several persons of distinction had really fancied that Monophysites and Nestorians might be brought into accord by means of such a formula. Their hope was, however, never to be fulfilled, the practical value of the proposed remedy being seen clearly enough in the subsequent history of the notorious proposition. The misfortune was that Justinian, that ardent Imperial theologian, though

he had not yet ascended the throne, was led by his taste for subtleties to attach great importance to the new invention. In two letters he had begged the Pope to come to a decision regarding the sentence in question. On the other hand, the papal legates in Constantinople had unceremoniously dismissed the turbulent innovators, declaring that neither the Council of Chalcedon nor Leo's epistle required the assistance of any such formula for their completion or interpretation. Hormisdas also, from motives of prudence and to avert complications, endeavoured to dissuade the Scythian monks from their project. The only result was that the monks now had recourse to other means to secure their end. It was no easy thing to convince Greek dogmatists, and in this case, to make matters worse, the Pope had to deal with fanatic monks, who were aware that they were backed by Justinian. Anticipating our modern advertisers, they put up bills and placards in the streets, hoping thereby to obtain support; they sought to stir up feeling among those members of the Senate who had Byzantine proclivities; they even appealed to the exiled bishops in Sardinia to help them with the weight of their opinion; they delivered inflammatory speeches at uproarious meetings held in the open places of the city, taking care, however, to keep close to the statues of the reigning family, where they were in sanctuary and could not be touched.

The Romans had too much sound sense to let themselves be excited by these strangers. Coming at last to the conclusion that neither instruction nor display of power would avail to quiet his troublesome guests, Hormisdas took the step of publicly condemning their pet formula. In spite of the following which the party had gained among the bishops, the Pope, in 521, pronounced the new-fangled proposition—"One of the Trinity was crucified"—to be both useless and dangerous. He did not actually condemn the formula itself as wrong, but he preferred the clearer statement: "One of the three Divine Persons suffered in the flesh." The Scythian monks, who had now been more than fourteen months in Rome, saw at last that it would be useless to prolong their stay, and they accordingly fled back to Constantinople. Needless to say that they accused Hormisdas of heresy.

This Pope has left an excellent description of these zealots in a letter to an African bishop named Possessor. This description

well fits the many Greeks who in those centuries stirred up theological trouble. We can well understand how such a Pope, whose time and strength were occupied in the government of the Church, was indignant at having to wrestle with such narrow minds. "They come to us," he says, "not to learn, but only to wrangle; in their blind excitement they are quite unable to take in the ideas of others; they fancy that both East and West should be attentive to their discovery; of monasticism they bear no trace, save in their habit; and of the monk's chief virtues, namely, humility and obedience, they know nothing whatever."[1]

339. The dogged obstinacy of the Greeks, twelve years later, again brought on the scene the same formula, "One of the Trinity." Once again the Pope was drawn into the controversy, which this time raged even more widely than before.

It was principally the monks of Constantinople who now occupied themselves afresh with the sentence in question. The Acœmeti or monks of the "sleepless" monastery entered the lists against the old formula. Unfortunately in so doing they made the grave mistake of advancing certain Nestorian statements. Against this Nestorianising tendency war was at once declared by the friends of the old Scythian monks, who now had a new reason for defending their formula with redoubled fervour, for to have forsaken it under such circumstances would have been tantamount to abetting Nestorianism.

Justinian, who in the meantime had become Emperor, accordingly issued, in 533, a theological edict, professedly in the name of the bishops. It was intended to safeguard the formula, which it restated and amplified after a fashion in itself quite correct, namely: "The Son of God, made man and crucified, is one of the Holy and consubstantial Trinity." Once more a crowd of excited monks, consisting of Cyrus and his comrades, all of them Acœmeti, hurried to Rome. Though under the excommunication of Epiphanius, Patriarch of Constantinople, they set to work in Rome, where they were assured of the support of a number of senators.

Pope John II. refused to enter into communion with them, but directed that the matter should be investigated in its new phase, for, taking into account the revival of Nestorianism, it had

[1] *Ad Possessorem episc.*, August 13, 520, in THIEL, p. 926; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 850: "*ad concussionem quietis circa regum etiam statuas inclamantes.*" For Hormisdas's decision, see HEFELE, *Conciliengesch.*, 2, 572.

come to be questioned whether it would not be advisable to approve the older formula which had previously been set aside. John thought it necessary to take the matter all the more seriously, seeing that Justinian had sent him two metropolitans to beg him to confirm the Imperial edict.

Quite recently the discovery was made of a manuscript from Novara containing a collection of the opinions of early Fathers, both Greek and Latin, made in Rome at that time for the purpose of the investigation. The collected passages all testify against the Acœmeti and in favour of the formula.[1]

The Pope eventually confirmed the formula, and on March 25, 534, sent a long letter to the Emperor Justinian on the subject.

He alludes graciously, too graciously perhaps, to the Emperor's zeal for the Church. Especially does he praise, somewhat artfully, the Emperor's expressed desire to submit all questions of doctrine to the Apostolic See. He gives notice that he has removed the case from the secular courts, which have no competence in such matters. The view of the Holy See, he says, had been even previously that the wording of the formula in the main agreed with right doctrine. Justinian's edict, being in agreement with the tradition of the Apostles, he accordingly gives it his sanction. Hence he follows the example set by the Patriarch, Epiphanius, and pronounces excommunication on the Acœmeti. Owing to this letter, some have hinted that a material theological contradiction existed between John II. and his predecessor Hormisdas. That this assumption is erroneous, is clear from the above.[2]

In a letter to eleven senators, *illustres et magnifici viri*, Pope John informs them of what he has written to his "son," the Emperor Justinian. He bids them follow the Church's law and sever all connection with the Acœmeti, with whom they must not even speak. These senators seem to have been very much at home in theology, at least in their own opinion, for the letter quotes whole series of opinions of the Fathers, all divided in groups according to the subject.[3]

[1] *Spicilegium Casinense*, 1, 157 ff. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Bull. critique*, 1894, p. 182.

[2] John II. to Justinian, in MANSI, 8, 797; GUENTHER, *Coll. Avellana*, 1, 320; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 884: "*romanae sedi reverentiam conservatis et ei cuncta subiicitis.*" Of his own decision he says: "*hoc sedes apostolica praedicavit hactenus.*"

[3] John II. to Avienus and other senators, in MANSI, 8, 803; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 885.

Among these excerpts appears—a point worth noting—one of the pronouncements of St. Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius. Cyril had always been held in high esteem in Rome; but, so far, the writings of this champion against Nestorius had not been used as much as might have been expected in view of his position. John II. is the first of the Popes to base an argument on an utterance of Cyril.[1]

Management of Church Affairs in Rome—The Synods

340. There seems scarcely any doubt that the above decision of the Pope was come to at a Roman synod.[2]

It is true that nothing is expressly said of such a synod. But custom, as well as necessity, had established that debated questions of any importance were to be referred to councils, consisting at least of the presbyters of the city, the neighbouring bishops, and any foreign bishops who happened to be staying in Rome. These were the petty synods to which Cyprian refers in the third century, when he speaks of the Roman Bishop's Presbyterium. In the sixth century special meeting-places, termed Consistories, existed for this purpose[3]; we have already alluded to several such synods in the course of our narrative.

Our historical sources furnish us with one very instructive instance, when dealing with the position of the Patriarch Epiphanius with respect to the Apostolic See.

Epiphanius, Patriarch of Constantinople, had acted with zeal and judgment in the affair of the Acœmeti and in other matters also. So great was the confidence of Pope Hormisdas in him, that he had made him the Holy See's Vicar in the East. After peace had been concluded on the basis of the "formula of Hormisdas," the Pope readily permitted him to reconcile to the Church such of the clergy as were willing to subscribe to the formula, stipulating only that he should send a report to Rome on those he had readmitted.

The Patriarch, however, allowed himself to be led away more

[1] Cp. SCHÄFER, in the Tübingen *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1895, p. 441 ff., specially p. 447.

[2] Hefele (*Conciliengesch.*, 2, 751) is mistaken in questioning this, against Mansi and others.

[3] For the presbyterium, see MANSI, 8, 774. The consistorium, for instance, in the title of the seventeenth homily of Gregory the Great, *in Evang.*: "*habita ad episcopos in consistorio Lateranensi*," according to the true reading of the MSS.

and more by the idea that his see of Constantinople was supreme over all the East. In this he was following the wishes of the Emperor, for Justinian, that Byzantine Louis XIV., was imperative in his demand that the Church of the capital should hold the first place among all the Greek Churches. The jurisdiction of the Exarchs of Ephesus and Cæsarea appears to have already ceased in his time ; the right of nomination being unquestionably in the hands of the Patriarch of the capital. In fact he never ceased to claim the same right over the three great patriarchal sees of the East. The only jurisdiction conceded to these Patriarchs, not admitting of appeal to the Patriarch of the Court, was the purely spiritual one exercised by them over the metropolitans of their respective provinces.

This effort to enhance the authority of his see plunged Epiphanius of Constantinople into a memorable conflict with the Papacy. It was this dispute which afforded the pretext for the above-mentioned petty Roman synods, held in the Papal Consistory, which we have selected as examples of the ordinary procedure at such councils.

Although the metropolitans of Eastern Illyricum had long been subordinate to the Pope as their Patriarch, Epiphanius had taken it on him to try a charge lodged against Stephen, metropolitan of Larissa, by certain clerics who had come to Constantinople. He began, without any previous judicial investigation, by forbidding the clergy of Thessaly to remain in communion with Stephen. He then had the latter, in spite of his appeal to Rome, brought to Constantinople by means of the secular arm, which was always at the disposal of the higher bishops of the Empire. At Constantinople, in a domestic synod (*synodus endemusa*), Stephen's deposition was pronounced. Epiphanius upbraided him with having dared to detract from the rights of the Holy Church of Constantinople or New Rome by his appeal to the Pope, and had him watched by the *defensores* of his Church, for fear he should escape to Italy. He could not, however, prevent his captive's letters from finding their way to Rome. They were brought to the Holy See by Theodosius, Bishop of Echinus, together with the complaints of other bishops regarding Byzantine encroachments.

Boniface II. organised a small synod (531) in the "Consistory of St. Andrew," *i.e.* in the old Imperial Mausoleum to the left of

St. Peter's, of which Pope Symmachus had made a church. It is the earliest example of a Roman synod, of which the minutes incidentally give us a glimpse into the details of official routine at the time, showing us how the proceedings were conducted, for which reason it deserves our attention.[1]

In the first session Pope Boniface is surrounded by four bishops. Two come from the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, Felix of Numentum and Carosus of Centumcellæ; the others are Sabinus of Canusium, later celebrated as a saint, and occasionally consulted by the Popes for affairs of importance, and Abundantius of Demetrias in Thessaly. The latter was accidentally present in Rome, bringing a complaint against another bishop who had usurped his see. Besides the bishops, thirty-nine Roman presbyters took part in the session, several of the twenty-five Roman *Tituli* being accordingly represented by more than one priest. Four "deacons of the Apostolic See" were also present, but remained standing.[2]

The first of these deacons, Tribunus, the Archdeacon, introduced with due formality Theodosius of Echinus in Thessaly, who had brought the complaint against the Patriarch of Constantinople; hereupon, at the Pope's orders, Menas, the notary, read out the first written charge. The acts of violence suffered by Stephen of Larissa are therein described in detail by Stephen himself, who declares that he relies confidently on the aid of the Pope, who has the oversight of all the Churches in the world, and who will doubtless defend with especial energy his own patriarchal rights in his papal province of Illyricum.[3]

As this report also mentioned the intruder, who had usurped the bishopric of Abundantius, the latter at once seized the opportunity to record a formal statement in defence of his rights. After the second letter of complaint from the metropolitan of Larissa had been read, the first session was brought to a close.

Two days later there was a second session in the same "Consistory." There were now forty-one presbyters present. A memorial against Epiphanius of Constantinople sent by three

[1] Council of December 7 and 9, 531, in MANSI, 8, 739 ff. This text is the authority for all the description given above.

[2] "... *Praesidente venerabili viro papa Bonifatio una cum Sabino ... episcopis, residentibus etiam Sanctulo ... presbyteris, adstantibus quoque Tribuno ... diaconibus ... Bonifatius episcopus ecclesiae catholicae urbis Romae dixit: Veniat.*"

[3] He gives the Pope a "*principatus*" over the whole Church, but in Eastern Illyricum also the "*gubernatio.*"

bishops of Thessaly was handed in by Theodosius and read aloud by the notary Menas. In it the three bishops begged for the reinstatement of Stephen, the persecuted metropolitan. Theodosius, who was at once Stephen's advocate, and defender of the Pope's patriarchal rights in Illyricum, then craved permission to have a series of official documents from Popes and emperors read aloud, by which these rights were guaranteed. He had brought copies of them with him, and asked that they might later on be compared with the originals lodged among the archives of the Roman Church.

Unluckily the record of the synod breaks off in the middle of the long list of deeds read out by Menas. Not having the minutes of the remainder of the proceedings, the outcome of the discussion and the fate of Stephen of Larissa are a mystery. It is one of the many unfortunate blanks found among early historic documents due to the accidents to which such deeds are so liable.[1]

To return, however, to that portion of the minutes which has come down to us, and which is important enough as showing the usual mode of procedure in church business at Rome. One is struck by the resemblance in a whole number of points between the procedure of this assembly and that usual in the secular Roman law-courts. In its own courts of justice the Church has taken over bodily the rules obtaining in the secular courts, even down to small outward observances. A few instances will show this.

Bishop Theodosius at first waits with his charge-sheet outside the door or curtain. The Archdeacon announces him within, giving his name and office, and then requests the Pope to give his orders. Pope Boniface says: "Let him enter." Theodosius is now asked by the Pope, again quite formally, to state what he requires, as though no one knew what was under discussion.

[1] There are twenty-six of these documents contained in the minutes, viz. decrees of Damasus, Siricius, Innocent I., Boniface I., Celestine I., Xystus III., and Leo I., besides rescripts of the Emperors Honorius, Theodosius II., Valentinian III., and Marcian, and a letter of Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople. The wording of these papal briefs must have been borne out by the Registers, kept even at that time. On the authenticity of these documents, see DUCHESNE, *Byzantinische Zeitschr.*, I (1892), 538 ff., and particularly p. 541, regarding two documents by Honorius and Theodosius II., called into question by Mommsen. Duchesne's article is reprinted with additions in his *Churches Separated from Rome*, Engl. trans., p. 154 ff. The latest writer to investigate anew and to establish the authenticity of the disputed documents was R. v. NOSTITZ-RIENECK (*Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 21, 1897, 1–50).

Being a Greek, an interpreter stands ready to render his words into Latin. Theodosius then explains in general terms the purport of the metropolitan's first *libellus*, which he holds in his hands. By formal direction of the Pope ensues the legal acceptance (*susceptio*) of this document, and then a new order of the Pope is required for it to be read aloud. After all this circumstance, the notary—whose Greek name (Menas) is worth noticing—at last begins the recitation in Latin. At the end of the charge he also reads verbatim the formula used by the subscriber: "And by another hand: 'I, Stephen, humble Bishop of the Holy Church of Larissa, have, with my own hand, signed this letter of complaint drawn up by me and sent to my most holy and most blessed Lord, the most venerable Father of Fathers, and universal patriarch, Boniface.'" After Abundantius had interjected his own complaint, as above described, the Pope directed both charges to be included among the archives. The minutes were written whilst the session was actually in progress. The same formalities of presentation and acceptance were observed in the admission of the second deed of protest from the metropolitan. Finally the Pope, owing to the lateness of the hour, terminates the sitting, giving Theodosius permission to produce any other communications or documents at the next session.

As regards the formalities of the second session, it is sufficient to say that the beginning of the proceedings, as described in the minutes, corresponds almost verbally with that of the first sitting. There seems to have been a fixed judicial formulary of introduction, as is, indeed, also shown by comparison with other Roman synods. It runs: "After the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes, on the fifth of the Ides of December, in the Consistory of the blessed Apostle Andrew; under the presidency of the venerable Pope Boniface, with the Bishops (here follow their names, with their dioceses); with the assistance of the presbyters (their names, but without their titular churches); in the presence of the standing deacons Tribunus, Agapius, Donatus, and Probus, the Archdeacon Tribunus states (here follow his words). Then Boniface, Bishop of the Catholic Church of the City of Rome, says," &c. "Abundantius, Bishop of the city of Demetrias," so we read in the first session, "rose up amidst the assembly and said . . ."

341. From other synodal reports which have been preserved

in their entirety we learn that invariably, at the end of the deliberations, the presiding Pope, with the "placet" of all present, summed up and announced the sentence, after which all signed the deeds. The Pope was the first to attach his signature, with the unchanging formula: "Bishop of the Holy Catholic Church of the City of Rome," then the bishops, with mention of their sees; likewise the priests, with mention of their *Tituli;* finally the deacons, the latter sometimes adding the city region to which they belong.[1]

With the signatures appended, the minutes, which in those times were still written upon papyrus, were complete. It is the fact that such deeds were written upon perishable paper and not upon parchment, which accounts for so few having come down to us, even in later copies. Even papal bulls and other legal documents were engrossed upon papyrus. The minutes of the Synod were deposited, according to custom, in the Lateran Archives. Bishops or others taking part, and having any particular interest in the matter, were supplied with official copies through the papal notaries.

Sometimes these records of Roman Councils refer to more intimate discussions among the members, or to consultations with the Pope. At such times the person spoken of was expected to quit the assembly. At the small Roman Council in 600, attended by five bishops beside the Roman clergy, Probus, an abbot, was duly introduced by a papal *Secundicerius* with the formalities already described, but was obliged to leave the Synod again immediately, "in order that we," as the president, Pope Gregory the Great, explained, "may consider his request with our brethren (the bishops) and our sons (the clergy)."[2]

At the Synod of Pope Symmachus in 499, all the bishops and presbyters present rise from their seats, in order to converse more readily among themselves about the decrees concerning papal elections. In some sense the session was suspended. As soon,

[1] Cp. the signatures to the Council of 499, in THIEL, p. 653 ff., and in MOMMSEN'S edition of the *Variae* of Cassiodorus (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, t. 12, Appendix). The papal signature: "*Caelius Symmachus, episcopus sanctae ecclesiae catholicae urbis Romae.*"

[2] *Append. ad Epist. s. Greg. Mag.*, ed. MAUR., 2, 1297: *P.L.*, LXXVII., 1346: JAFFÉ-EWALD, n. 1798. The formalities here described, as well as those of the Synod in 499, are well worth comparing with those we dealt with above. In Gregory's Council, after the ceremonious introduction of Probus, we likewise have the *susceptio* and then the *recitatio* of his *petitio*.

however, as the wording of the decrees was agreed upon, all solemnly resumed their seats, to express by deed the resumption of the session; and the notary having read aloud the decision arrived at, it was, after express inquiry from the Pope, accepted by a chorus of *placet* and *fiat*.

Certain solemnities, such as the acclamations in honour of the monarch or of the Pope, or the summoning of the Senate, and even the people, as witnesses to the proceedings; introductory addresses by the Pope, or closing announcements of the decision in the church, sometimes followed by an anathema pronounced by all present; all these things seem to have been reserved for the greater or provincial councils of Rome. The smaller assemblies just spoken of were, on the contrary, in their simplicity the forerunners of the mediæval consistories, in which Pope and cardinals met regularly and frequently to settle the more important questions of church government. The deacons and presbyters alluded to above were, even then, in deed, though not yet in name, the Pope's cardinals, while the few bishops present from the neighbourhood form a group of judges to be later on replaced by the cardinal-bishops of the suburban sees.

The Papal Court. Roman Learning and the Monasteries of Cassiodorus

342. The Court surrounding the Church's Supreme Pastor, even in the fourth century, had already begun to resemble the Imperial Court.

This is seen, for instance, to some extent in the bestowal on officials of the Curia of titles borrowed from Roman secular usage, a practice of which we have already met several examples. Owing, however, to the fewness of our sources of information, it is very difficult to follow the slow and gradual growth which took place in remote ages. We shall have an opportunity later to study the papal officialdom and the Lateran Court at a period when they will be more fully evolved.

Could we but rely on the forged "Donation of Constantine," then the state of affairs would be quite clear, even for the period of Pope Silvester.[1]

[1] Cp. the editions of this document by GRAUERT, *Hist. Jahrb.*, 3 (1882), 25, and by ZEUMER, *Die Konstantinische Schenkungsurkunde*, II. (*Festgabe für R. v. Gneist*, 1888). Zeumer was responsible for the text of Constantine's Donation in the *Mon. Germ. hist., Formulae merov. et carol. aevi* (1886), p. 492.

The unknown author who wrote this remarkable document in the eighth or ninth century, informs us that the Emperor Constantine, after his legendary cure from leprosy, and alleged baptism in Rome, gave the Lateran Palace to Silvester, and graciously bestowed upon him a diadem, *i.e.* (according to Constantine's own words as recorded in the text) "the crown upon our head, and the frigium [*phrygium*] and the superhumerale or lorum, about the Emperor's neck; likewise the purple chlamys and scarlet tunic; likewise outriders, such as the Emperor has, and the imperial sceptre, with all the imperial regalia and the whole pageant. To the most venerable clergy of the Holy Roman Church of every degree we further grant the rank of Senators; they shall be Patricians and Consuls, and be allowed to adorn themselves with other imperial distinctions; and as at our Court the different chamberlains, ushers, and other functionaries have badges of office, so shall it also be with the clergy of the Roman Church; their horses, when in use, may be caparisoned with smart linen trappings; their feet shall be shod with the shoes of Senators. Earthly things in their splendour shall be a type of the heavenly, to the praise of God. . . . And let none sin through pride or conceit."

This fantastic document, at least in certain passages, brings before us the Papal Court and its ceremonial as it appeared at the author's time, *i.e.* in the Carlovingian period; in other respects it merely expresses the pious wishes of the cleric who wrote it, and who evidently took great pleasure in outward pomp and parade. The few extant monuments and written notices prove that the Pope's surroundings had been far less gorgeous.

How highly the position, political and social, of the Papacy was appreciated about the middle of the sixth century, even by the most distinguished statesmen, may be seen in the letter of **Cassiodorus** to Pope John II., of which the authority ranks far above that of Constantine's Donation, and which is remarkable enough at a period when no one had as yet dreamt of the States of the Church.

Cassiodorus, in 533, was promoted to the highest secular dignity in Italy, becoming Prefect of the Prætorium. It was then that he commended himself with the utmost respect and submission to the Pope. "Do not leave," he writes to him, "the care of the City of Rome to me alone. It derives its security far

more from you. You are placed as a watchman over the Christian people; you show a father's love to all. The sphere of our care is limited, but yours is quite universal. Your first duty is indeed to lead the flock to spiritual pastures, but even their temporal concerns you cannot disregard. For as man consists of body and spirit, a good father cherishes his children both bodily and spiritually. Yea, his first concern is to avert by prayer those earthly needs which may be a penalty for sin. . . .

"Give me counsel," he continues, "how I should fulfil my duty. . . . I am a Court official, but for all that I am still your disciple. . . . May the See of Peter, which is the wonder of the whole world, protect me, its reverer; this See was doubtless established for the whole world, but, since it abides in Rome, it has special responsibilities towards us who live in the City. Rome has the happiness of guarding in its midst the tombs which all people desire to see, and on this account we have both a claim and a pledge for the aid of the Apostles. This, together with your prayers, will overcome the difficulties of our office."[1]

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343. Cassiodorus remained in the service of the State for yet a number of years, till the time of Vitiges and the Gothic War. He then, in 540, at about the age of sixty, retired to his Calabrian home, Vivarium, near Squillacium (Squillace), in order to devote himself entirely to prayer and study in the monastery he had founded upon his estate. During his lengthy public life he had rendered incalculable service to the Papacy, to the influence of the Church upon society, and to the reconciliation of the Latins and Germans.

The withdrawal into a monastery of this remarkable man may truly be considered a great episode in the history of Italy and of Christian learning. In the quietude of his cloister, splendidly situated upon a hill overlooking the sea, surrounded by equally studious kindred spirits, Cassiodorus by his writings and example prepared the way for St. Benedict, laying down the roads on which the monks of the West were to advance to the conquest of knowledge. If the monasteries during the Middle Ages afforded

[1] *Variar.*, 9, n. 2., ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, t. 12): "*Nos decet cogitare aliqua, sed vos omnia. . . . Bene agere vel correptus exopto. . . . Sum quidem iudex palatinus, sed vester non desinam esse discipulus. . . . Confessiones illas, quas videre universitas appetit, Roma felicior in suis sinibus habere promeruit.*"

a shelter behind their enclosures to studies whether profane or sacred, and kept alive throughout the time of trouble the sacred fire of scholarship and culture, this is to be ascribed largely to the foresight and enlightened industry of Cassiodorus.

Trained as he was in statecraft, he saw full well that the Gothic kingdom, where learning had been protected and had enjoyed a sort of second spring, was doomed to perish. It was also clear to him that, after all he had done in vain for the Goths, no other Germanic kingdom would take over the task of establishing civilisation. Hence he devoted his last efforts to monasticism. The only hope of Europe's future seemed to him to be in religion, while nowhere were the religious ideals better embodied than in those associations, then becoming so popular in Italy, of men who, forsaking worldly turmoil, gave themselves wholly to higher things, without, however, neglecting the culture of their time and the claims of learning. Whence the reliance he placed on the monks' work for the cause of civilisation. It was for them, too, that he wrote in his retreat, his *Institutiones*, or "Guide to Studies both Divine and Secular." [1]

The first of the two books into which this work is divided is a lengthy introduction to theological lore, particularly to the study of Holy Scripture. The second is occupied with an epitome of the seven liberal arts, and discusses successively Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectics, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy. The work was intended by Cassiodorus in some measure to make up for the school he and Pope Agapetus had hoped to found in Rome, but which the circumstances of the time had made impossible. In point of fact, his "Institutions" did actually become the manual of higher studies in the schools of the Middle Ages.[2]

Cassiodorus, in the course of his literary career, to this first one added other books, which enjoyed an equal repute throughout the mediæval period. They are, some of them, original works,

[1] *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium lectionum*, *P.L.*, t. LXX., ed. GARET. In Cassiodorus, *lectiones* is equivalent to *litterae*; see EBERT, *Literatur des Mittelalters*, 1, 501. In the Rule of St. Benedict the *lectio*, recommended to the monks, likewise means literary work in general.

[2] Cassiodorus had cherished the grand idea, well worthy of such a man, to introduce, "*cum beatissimo Agapito, papa urbis Romae . . . collatis expensis in urbe Roma professos doctores scholae christianae*," whose duty would have been, among other things, to expound Holy Scripture "*per expositiones patrum.*" Cp. *Inst. div. litt.*, Praef. On the Library which Pope Agapetus had founded for this purpose on the *Clivus Scauri* upon the Cælian, see DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 16.

others translations from the Greek; all are, however, intended to be, not so much new contributions to knowledge, as sums embracing the whole field of learning for the instruction of posterity.

The schools of Rome were in later years to draw largely on the material accumulated by Cassiodorus, but it must be remembered that the literary treasures of the city had also contributed their share to the foundation of the great monastic library of Cassiodorus. In this library, which its founder himself describes, the works of the Fathers of the Church live in peaceful harmony with the products of heathen literature.[1]

Cassiodorus recommends his disciples, whom he conducts with no little pride through these parchment treasures, to study above all the Bible, then Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose; but he advises them also to read with care the masterpieces of heathen and secular literature, which may help to form their taste and enrich them with earthly knowledge. As he says: "In this manner did the great lights of the Church make worldly wisdom subserve the heavenly." Nor does he forget to point to Moses as an example, who also was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.[2]

The founder of the monastic academy of Vivarium does not omit to lead his visitor into the copyists' room. Here tireless hands are busy transcribing ancient books. These *antiquarii*, as Cassiodorus calls them, are bound to follow the rules of orthography, which he himself has drafted for their guidance. In his "Institutions," Cassiodorus had already praised the tedious daily work of these clerkly monks. No higher bodily work exists, but it must be faithfully and attentively executed. "As many wounds are inflicted on Satan," he exclaims, "as the *antiquarius* copies words of the Lord. Whilst he is at work profitably educating his own mind, he is at the same time a sower, dispersing the commandments of the Lord far and wide." [3]

The monastery of Cassiodorus was provided with every comfort, and had all the attractions of country life. It was, however, the wish of its wealthy founder, who was wholly devoted to God's service, that his community should rise above earthly things, even

[1] On the Library: A. FRANZ, *Cassiodorus Senator. Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der theol. Literatur*, Breslau, 1872.

[2] Cassiodorus on the classics, *Instit.*, I, c. 17 ff.; *P.L.*, LXX., 1133.

[3] "*Tot enim vulnera Satanas accipit, quot antiquarius Domini verba describit.*" Ibid., c. 30.

above the pleasure which study brings, and live for virtue and the service of God; work for the everlasting good of society should be their guiding principle amidst their seclusion. "All which surrounds us here," he says, after describing the attractions of the settlement, "are pleasures of this earthly present life, which afford no warrant for the future. These things are transitory, but the things of the next world are everlasting. In the midst of the present let us turn our desires towards these Last Things, and towards them alone, for they contain the promise of an eternal reign with Christ." [1]

For the greater inward recollection of those who wished to pass their days as hermits, or had no special talent for study, Cassiodorus erected another monastery at no great distance from the first, on Mount Castellum. In both institutions, however, the rule enforced not only work, but also the observance of the canonical hours, with their psalms and lessons. The founder in his writings admonishes the abbots of both monasteries to guide their respective subjects with wisdom and love to the life of perfection. [2]

Cassiodorus, and, somewhat later, St. Benedict of Nursia, through the influence they exercised upon conventual life, were responsible for the dawn in Italy of a new spiritual period.

This period began, however, in the throes of a fearful war. All the provinces of the country, and above all Rome, which had already suffered so much, were stirred to their innermost depths by the horrors of a struggle lasting nearly twenty years.

Into the bloodstained furrows of the ruined ancient world, Providence cast the new seed of Christian culture in the shape of monasticism, with its renunciation, its austerity, and its energy in all fields, both temporal and spiritual. It was to grow into a goodly tree, and that it did was mainly due to the aid which it received from Rome.

[1] "*Verum haec oblectamenta sunt praesentium rerum. . . . Sed illic positi ad illa potius desideria transferamus, quae nos faciunt regnare cum Christo.*" Ibid., c. 29. On the situation and arrangement of the *Monasterium Vivariense*, see the accounts by one well acquainted with the spot, *i.e.* G. MINASI, *Cassiodoro Senatore, ricerche storico-critiche* (Napoli, 1895), particularly pp. 143 ff., 221 ff.

[2] EBERT, *Literatur des Mittelalters*, p. 504.

III.—ROME, BYZANTIUM, AND THE OSTROGOTHS AT THE TIME OF THE REVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE IN ITALY

CHAPTER I

TWENTY YEARS OF WAR IN ITALY

General Survey. The Gothic Camp before the City of Rome

344. VITIGES, Totila, and Teias are the three famous names connected with the first fall, the restoration, and the final overthrow of the Gothic domination in Italy and Rome.

The war, which for either side was a matter of life or death, lasted eighteen years, from 535 to 553, and led to heroic deeds such as are rare in history, though its result was to reduce Italy and poor, decaying Rome to a state of absolute impotence, both material and moral. The remains of classic splendour in life and culture could scarcely have sunk into ruin under circumstances more tragic. Any other city but Rome, caught up in such a whirlwind, would have perished irretrievably.

The city of the Tiber, after having been taken by Belisarius, had first to stand a frightful siege by Vitiges from March 537 to March 538. The Gothic King was, however, obliged to withdraw from the walls so heroically defended by Belisarius, and was himself soon forced to open the gates of Ravenna to the Byzantine victor. His brave successor, Totila, chosen King of the Goths in 541, re-established German rule as far as Apulia and Calabria, with the energy and success of a Hannibal. Again was the trembling and famishing city of Rome invested from the summer, 545, to the very end of the next year. At last the defence of the Byzantine general, Bessas, was overcome, and Totila entered as conqueror. After having plundered it and dismantled the walls at several points, he left it to the advancing forces of Belisarius, in order to undertake a random campaign in Lucania. After repeatedly attacking the city, he once more took possession of it in the beginning of 549, Belisarius, formerly the Emperor Justinian's right hand, being now languishing in disgrace at Constantinople, whither he had been recalled.

Not Belisarius, but Narses, the active and trusty general of the Imperial forces, was to reap the reward of vanquishing Totila. He gained over the hero the sanguinary battle of Taginæ in 552, and then, in triumph, entered Rome, which was to remain a long while under the Byzantine sceptre. But in Southern Italy the surviving remnant of the Gothic people, regardless of death, still offered resistance. Teias, the new Gothic King, hurried from the north by forced marches as far as Mount Vesuvius. There, on the hills of Campania, overlooking the blue sea and fertile plains, on the loveliest site in the world, he was overcome by the superior numbers and strategy of the Byzantines. Teias fell, covered with glory, after twelve javelins had pierced his shield. Thus ended the Gothic power, which, like Vesuvius, had vainly consumed its own force. This was in March 553. Narses allowed the last band, some thousand strong, to retreat under arms to Pavia. Another two years' struggle was necessary to overcome the incalculable hordes of Alemanni and Franks, under Leutharis and Butilin, though the Byzantines were powerfully assisted by famine and pestilence prevalent in the ranks of their foes. When all was over, Narses at last began to reorganise under peaceable conditions the reconquered country. Italy again became a province of that ancient and powerful Empire which still emphatically described itself as Roman; yet, on account of the distance, the bond which linked Rome with Constantinople, the capital, was somewhat loose; Italy and Rome have entered the inglorious period of the Greek Exarchate.

Such were, in broad outline, the occurrences which followed one another after Belisarius had for the first time entered Rome as a conqueror, greeted by Pope Silverius.

As the present work does not deal with the details of military history, such as those just sketched, but studies the life and evolution of Rome on the background of its local and historical fortunes, we must confine ourselves in the following pages to bringing forward such items, topographical or historical, as are of marked importance for learning what Rome was in those eventful years. There is certainly no lack of reliable descriptions and notices of this kind. A Greek writer of the time, Procopius, who accompanied Belisarius, and was himself an eye-witness of most of the happenings in Rome, has left us in his historical work an excellent

picture of the varying fortunes of the City whilst the war was in progress.[1]

345. What is chiefly remarkable is that in spite of all the battles which took place near Rome, the walls were never once carried by assault; four times did the costly prize fall into the winners' hands by treachery or by the gates being freely opened; once, indeed, the walls were scaled by Narses, but that was at an unguarded point. Such was, even then, the strength of the walls of Aurelian and Honorius; such were the services which could still be rendered by those battlemented towers and loopholed walls which girdled Rome in stone.

It is, however, true that the tactics of the besiegers were often at fault; in fact the brave Goths had scarcely any. Nor did the Goths ever succeed in surrounding or actually investing Rome. Supplies were never permanently cut off from the beleaguered City. Their armies usually contented themselves with pitching camps at various apparently suitable places round about Rome, which they made the bases of their harassing petty campaigns against the defenders, the battles being fought amidst the aqueducts of the Campagna.

The accounts of the camps and the aqueducts given by Procopius are of great topographical interest.

From the first the Goths preferred as a camping-ground the undulating country between the north-eastern side of the City and the Anio, which is traversed by the *Via Salaria*, the *Nomentana*, *Tiburtina*, and *Praenestina*. From the city walls could be seen the earthworks thrown up round the camps, which were further strengthened by a ditch and a stockade.

Vitiges, after having been beaten back a first time from the City, erected for his great siege six such camps in the part of the Campagna just mentioned. By this means, as Procopius says, he threatened five of the city gates. His seventh camp he pitched on the opposite, or right bank of the Tiber, in the so-called *Campus Neronis*, *i.e.* on the flat ground stretching north-west of Rome, along the base of Monte Mario from the Vatican to the Milvian Bridge. This last camp was intended as a base for attacks upon that gate which Procopius invariably calls the Aurelian.

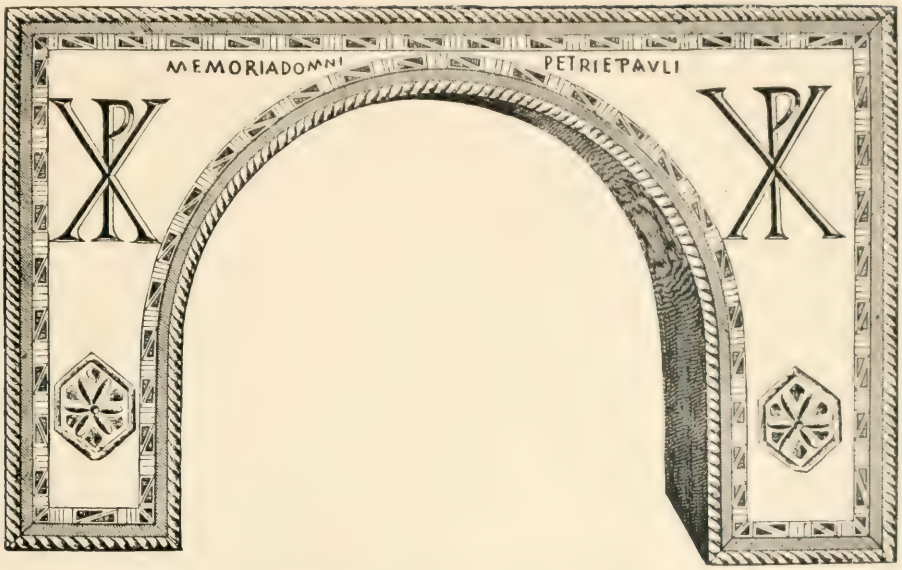
[1] Γοτθικὸς πόλεμος or Ἰταλικά, in four books, ed. DINDORF, *Corpus Script. hist.* (Bonn); ed. HAURY (Leipzig, 1905). A new Greek edition with Italian translation was begun by D. COMPARETTI in 1895 (*Istit. stor. ital., Fonti per la storia d' Italia*). German version by D. COSTE in *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*², 6 *Jahrh.*, ii.

This is not, as has been thought, the gate called in ancient times *Porta Aurelia*, which stood upon the Janiculus, and was then known as the gate of St. Pancras, but rather the gate close to Hadrian's Mausoleum, leading from St. Peter's to Hadrian's Bridge and thence into the city.[1]

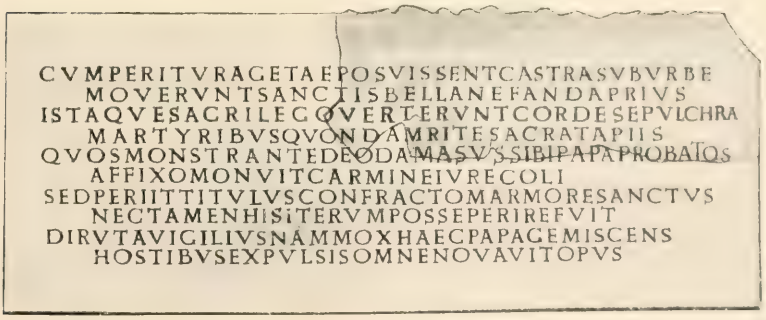
346. Besides this, Vitiges cut the aqueducts of Rome, most of which passed over the elevated plateau he occupied on the east of the city. The abundant streams of water fell from the broken conduits into the river Anio, or else, after meandering through the fields, where they formed unhealthy swamps, at last found their way to the Tiber. As, however, the city was provided with sources of its own, the breaking of the aqueducts was not an irreparable calamity. What was worse was the destruction by Vitiges of Trajan's great aqueduct on the other side of the Tiber. We know already that its water was led down the side of the Janiculus, where even now it works the paper-mills beneath the splendid fountain of Paul V. In those days the water-power set in motion the numerous and very necessary corn-mills of the city. The want of flour was soon felt bitterly by the Romans, more so even than their being deprived of the baths and thermæ formerly supplied by the aqueducts. Belisarius managed, however, to replace these mills by others, which he erected near the Tiber, and which the Goths sought in vain to damage by floating tree-trunks down the river. No one who knew Rome before the embankment of the river could forget the brisk, industrious Tiber mills in the neighbourhood of the bridges below the Janiculus; they had continued in use, reminding one of those first mills erected here in the sixth century.

It was an act of negligence on the part of the Goths not to have occupied or strengthened the strategically important points

[1] As regards this last gate, I agree with GREGOROVIUS, I, 372. It was the "*Porta s. Petri in Hadrianio*," which must then have been known as *Porta Aurelia* from the adjacent *Via Aurelia Nova* (see present work, vol. i. p. 266 ff.). The five other gates, not expressly mentioned by Procopius, were probably the Flaminian, the Salarian, the *Nomentana*, the Tiburtine, and the *Praenestina*. The *Porta pinciana* does not seem to have served as a gate at that time, but to have been first made into one by Belisarius. In Ammon's catalogue it is given as "*porta pinciana clausa*" (URLICHS, p. 78). As this list, though originally drawn up in 403, exists only in the edition undertaken under Pope Hadrian I., it is quite possible that the "*clausa*" refers to a fresh closure of the *Pinciana* under Hadrian. Under Belisarius the gate was in use, as Procopius clearly states. Though Gregorovius, p. 363, says: "The connection of the *Tiburtina* and the *Praenestina* with the present Porta S. Lorenzo and Porta Maggiore is doubtful," the doubt alluded to has long been settled, and there is no doubt that the Honorian *Porta Tiburtina* coincides with the Porta S. Lorenzo, and the Honorian *Praenestina* with the Porta Maggiore. Cp. JORDAN, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I, 358.



Ill. 158.—Marble Tegurium of an African Memoria or Relic-Altar of SS. Peter and Paul. (See p. 301.)



Ill. 159.—An Inscription of Pope Vigilius from the Catacombs, containing an allusion to the Goths or "Getæ."

lying at some distance outside Rome. This omission, repeated even later, accounts for their small success. One of the most important positions was unquestionably the town of Portus Romanus (Porto), situated close to the sea on the right bank of the Tiber; another was Tibur (Tivoli), which from its hill commanded the whole country. With these towns, and the Alban hills as their base, the Goths might, on the one hand, have made their blockade more effectual, and, on the other, have defended themselves more easily against the relieving forces. As it was, they encamped in bands in the Campagna beneath the torrid summer sun, and suffered scarcely less from pestilence and the fevers bred by the fresh swamps, than the terrified Romans whom they were besieging.

During these long sieges the farms and settlements—erected by the industry of innumerable slaves—which still existed in the neighbourhood of Rome, must have been ruthlessly destroyed. Many a villa and grand building sank into ashes. In the country houses of the Roman gentry many a marble statue, which seekers of later ruins have been so fortunate as to discover, began then its long slumber beneath ruins and rubbish.

347. The larger Roman churches outside the walls were in general spared by the Ostrogoths. We know this for certain of the basilicas of the two Princes of the Apostles. On the other hand the greedy hordes flocked into the underground Christian necropolis surrounding Rome. Their rich finds in the Pagan monuments on the surface of the ground naturally attracted them to the depths below. These mausoleums of the classical period, with their often valuable contents, had hitherto been protected by law and by special guardians of their own; they now fell a ready prey to the Goths. The Christian crypts proved less remunerative to the robbers. The Catacombs at this time were almost deserted by Romans and pilgrims on account of the danger, and the rough soldiers could rove the subterranean galleries searching for treasure without any fear of meeting processions of the faithful, bearing lights and reciting prayers.[1]

The Catacombs still retain memories of the Goths' destructiveness. Pope Vigilius, after the besiegers had departed, set about

[1] On the forbearance shown towards the two basilicas, see PROCOP., 2, c. 4. The *Liber pontificalis* says of the other churches and tombs of the saints in the Catacombs: "*ecclesiae et corpora martyrum sanctorum exterminatae sunt a Gothis*," I, 293, *Silverius*, n. 99; ed. MOMMSEN, p. 145.

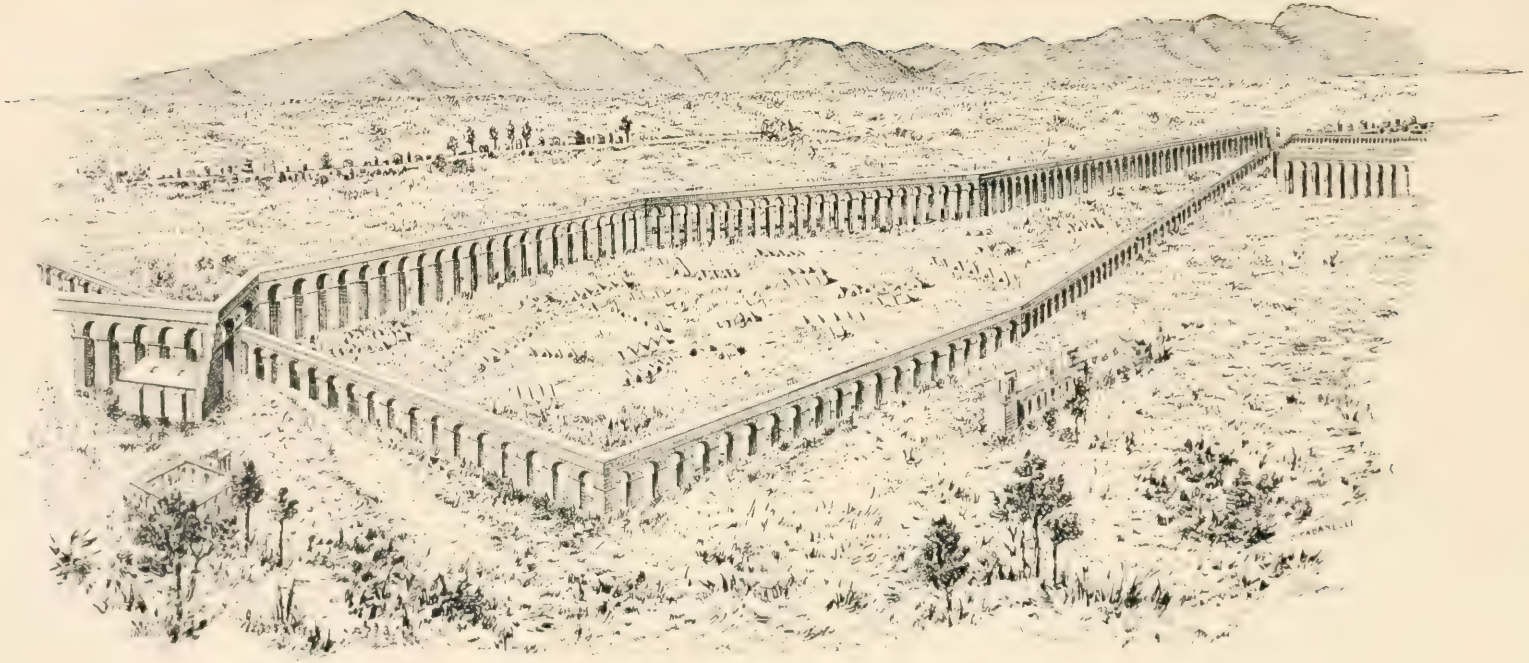
repairing the havoc they had wrought in the burial-places of the saints. An inscription by him, which could still be read in the eighth century in the cemetery of the Jordani on the *Via Salaria Nova*, on the grave of the martyrs Alexander, Martialis, and Vitalis, states that when the "Getae" had pitched their "doomed" camp before the city they waged a sacrilegious war against the burial-place of these martyrs, which Pope Damasus had once adorned and provided with memorial tablets. Vigilius had shed tears over these ruins, and, after the departure of the enemy, had restored everything, especially the marble inscription of Pope Damasus. This metrical inscription of Pope Vigilius is repeated word for word in other cemeteries. The Lateran Museum still preserves a small fragment of one of these inscriptions, which we reproduce in Ill. 159 in a restored form as a good example of the writing of the time.[1]

In the Catacomb of Callistus the visitor may see another memorial of those days. This is the marble copy of the great epitaph upon Pope Eusebius, doubtless also executed under Pope Vigilius. The original had disappeared, probably having been broken up by the Goths. The copy, which is a laboured imitation of the characteristic Damasian inscription, contains several mistakes, and shows, in a measure, the decay of epigraphy in those years.[2]

[1] "*Cum peritura Getae posuissent castra sub urbe*
Moverunt sanctis bella nefanda prius . . .
Quos monstrante Deo Damasus sibi papa probatos
Affixo monuit carmine iure coli . . .
Diruta Vigilius nam mox haec papa gemiscens
Hostibus expulsis omne novavit opus."

Thus runs the inscription in the *Coemeterium Iordanorum* and elsewhere. The full text in DE ROSSI, *Inscript. christ. urbis Romae*, 2, 1, pp. 100, 137. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1880, p. 37: *Degli antichi danni e restauri dei monumenti priscilliani; Triplice Omaggio a Pio IX.*, Pl. 3, Fig. 6 (whence Ill. 159 is taken). The fragment of the first five lines, shaded in our Ill. 159, comes from the *Coemeterium ad duas lauros* on the *Via Labicana*. In the same catacomb, on the ancient burial-place of the martyrs Peter and Marcellin, restorations have been lately pointed out, which must date from the time of Vigilius. A cross chiselled out of stone was also discovered there, which in its striking form corresponds closely with the cross on the *Porta Pinciana* (see below, Ill. 163 D). MARUCCHI, *La cripta storica dei ss. Pietro e Marcellino*, in the *Nuovo Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1898, p. 137 ff., with a figure of the cross, p. 159.

[2] The copy is given in DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, II., Pl. IV., cp. p. 195; and in KRAUS, *Roma sott.*, Pl. II. Another inscription which speaks of the "*furor hostilis*" of the "Getae" against the martyrs' graves, was on the tomb of St. Diogenes on the *Via Salaria Vetus*. The text in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, pp. 83, 100, after mentioning the restorations, boasts: "*Cum scelere hostili crevit amor tumulis.*" At the grave of the martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria, on the *Via Salaria Nova*, a similar poem spoke of the destruction and restorations: "*Crevit in his templis per tua damna decus.*" DE ROSSI, ibid., 84, 87, 116, 135; *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1882, p. 59 ff. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 293 ff.



Ill. 160.—The Campus Barbaricus, or Camp of the Goths, between the Aqua Claudia and Aqua Marcia.
(Reconstruction by Tabanelli, after the ruins still remaining.)

De Rossi pointed out that, especially in the cemeteries near the old and new Salarian Way, the damage done by the Goths can still be traced. It was there of course that, under Vitiges, the main body of the Gothic forces had been encamped. De Rossi also, and doubtless with reason, connects the practice, which became more and more frequent during the sixth century, of burying the dead in the large, newly erected graveyards within the city walls, with the prolonged stay of the enemy in the vicinity of Rome. It seems that this custom had already begun by the end of the fifth century; the continued insecurity of the Campagna in the following century led to its becoming henceforth the rule.[1]

348. One of the Gothic encampments before the city, situated in one of the most picturesque corners of the Campagna, can still be pointed out with certainty. This is the so-called *Campus Barbaricus*, on the Appian Way. The name stuck to it after the war was over, and has come down to us in later surveys of landed property in that district. Procopius describes how, in 537, the barbarians—as he always calls the Ostrogoths—very cleverly established a stronghold in the vicinity of the Appian and Latin Ways, fifty stadii from Rome, at the point, he explains, "where two aqueducts, resting upon lofty arches, meet, and soon after turn in opposite directions, only to cross each other again." "The space in the middle," he remarks, "is made by these aqueducts into almost a natural castle. The barbarians filled in the arcades with masonry and earth, and thus obtained a fortress in which they placed seven thousand men. Only the outbreak of disease and the failure of provisions forced them to retire."[2]

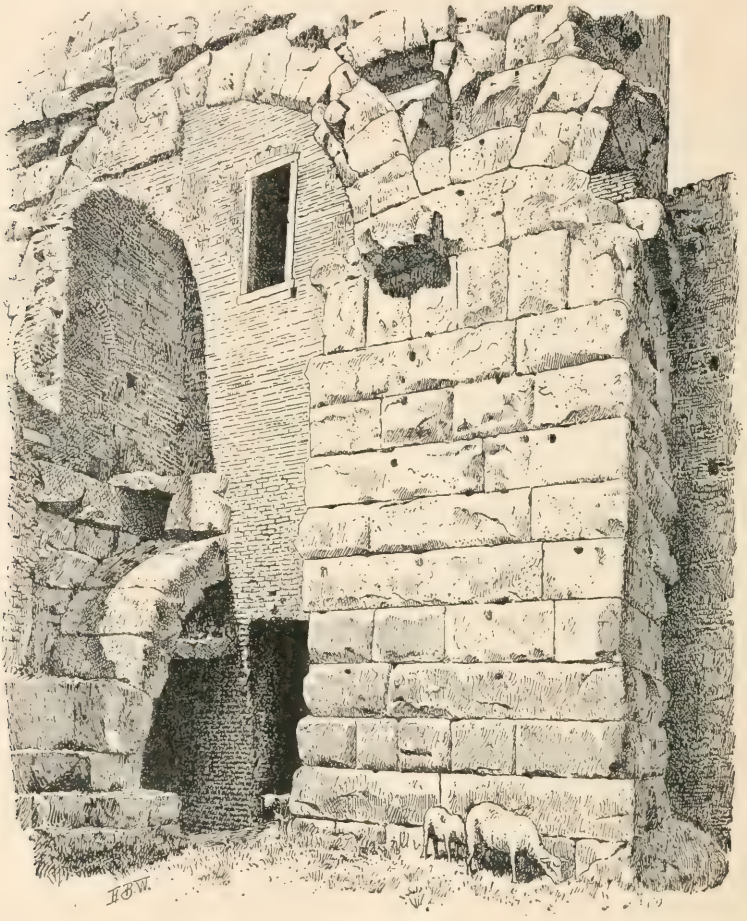
A double intersection of ancient aqueducts is still to be seen at the present day at the distance, and in the district stated. This is unquestionably the *Campus Barbaricus*. There, not far from the Villa of the Quintilii, the majestic arches of the *Aqua Claudia* are twice crossed by the lower arches of the *Marcia* (Ill. 160),[3] forming the enclosure where the Gothic camp was situated. A mediæval tower, which now looks down sadly upon

[1] De Rossi, *Roma sott.*, I., 217 ff.

[2] De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1870, p. 104 ff.; 1873, p. 95 ff., with a rather awkward plan on Pl. VII. Lanciani, *Acquedotti*, p. 148; Procop., 2, c. 3, 4.

[3] The further one is the *Aqua Claudia*, which was also the higher, but of which the piers here are scarcely to be seen to-day, though well preserved elsewhere. The *Aqua Marcia* in the foreground is still in existence. The remains of the two villas are yet to be seen. To the rear is seen the Latin Way, with its tombs still remaining.

the ruins of the aqueducts, gives an aspect of grandeur to the whole. The intersection of the ancient aqueducts, above which rises the tower, is a triumph of classic skill (Ill. 161).[1] In 1853, on the new road to Albano, which passes quite near between the fourth and fifth milestone, Christian graves were found containing,



Ill. 161.—Intersection of the Aqueducts in the Campus Barbaricus.

wrapped in costly stuffs, bodies which bore traces of violent death. They may have been of the number of the slain in the war between the Goths and Byzantines.[2]

[1] Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 63. The intersection is that seen to the left of the previous illustration.

[2] De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1873, p. 96, and 1876, p. 35. Lanciani, *I comentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli acquedotti* (1880), p. 148. Cp. the plan of the aqueducts in Fabretti, *De aquis et aquaeductibus* (1788), Pl. I., and Kiepert's special map *Dintorni di Roma* (*Carta arch. dell' Italia centrale*).

Ill. 162.—The Porta Pinciana. (Outer side. After a photograph.)

As a set-off to the entrenchments on the Appian and Latin Ways, Belisarius established a special camp for his Hunnish cavalry to the south of Rome, on the Ostian Way, just before St. Paul's is reached from the City. It was placed at this point in order, at the same time, to command the Tiber, which flowed past it. Not a trace of this remains, any more than of the portico leading to St. Paul's, which is alluded to by Procopius in connection with the Hunnish camp, which no doubt it served to cover.[1]

At a later period, during the second siege of Rome, Totila pitched his principal camp on the opposite side of the river, near the *Via Portuensis*. The place was at the eighth milestone from Rome, on the so-called *Campus Merulis*. Even yet a district in that neighbourhood is called "Campo di Merlo." The remains of a church of "St. Peter, near the Bridge of Merulus," spoken of in the seventh century, were discovered there in 1858.[2]

The Walls and Gates during the Gothic War

349. After this glance at the camps, let us now turn to the Walls of Rome; they will be found to furnish us with many a stone memorial of those stirring times.

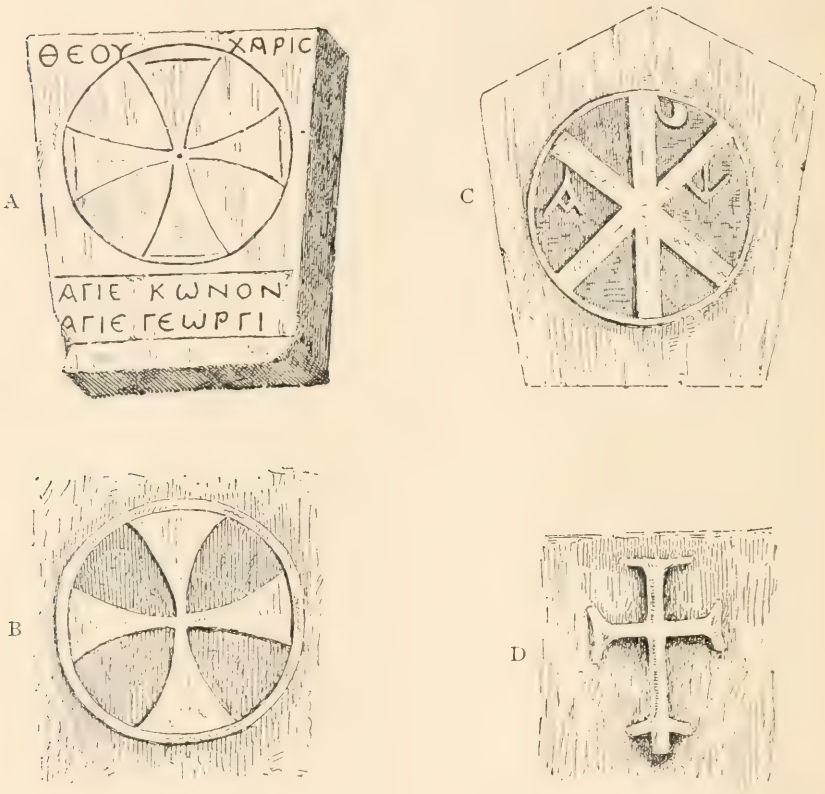
These venerable ruins enshrine the memory of the courage and strategic skill with which Belisarius defended them under circumstances of appalling difficulty. They are also a grand monument to the thousands of Goths who fell before them. Over and over again did a strange fate hurl the stubborn children of the North against these relentless stone barriers where all their force was spent in vain.

During the earlier part of the war when the walls are spoken of, the *Porta Pinciana* is most often mentioned (Ill. 162). This small Gate, which still stands, is not built like most of the other Gates of Rome. It appears to have been originally a mere postern (*posterula*), only later raised to the dignity of a city gate. Owing to the neighbourhood of the Pincian Palace, whence Belisarius

[1] PROCOP, 2, c. 14. Lanciani has included the portico in his *Forma Urbis*. Cp. Pl. 44.

[2] According to GREG., *Dial.*, 3, c. 11, Totila was "*ad locum, qui ab octavo huius urbis milliario Merulis dicitur.*" *Liber pont.*, 1, 346, *Adeodatus*: "*hic ecclesiam beati Petri, qui est via Portuense, iuxta ponte Meruli restauravit.*" Cp. A. PELLEGRINI, *La basilica di S. Pietro in Campo di Merlo*, Roma, 1860. DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1870, p. 107. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 347.

directed the defence of Rome, it obtained particular importance. The keystone over the entrance from the outside still retains a trace of the Byzantines in the great Greek cross within a circle which is graven there (Ill. 163 B).[1] On the city side there is a Latin cross upon the corresponding keystone (Ill. 163 D). We here find a practical expression of the twofold character, Latin



Ill. 163.—Crosses on the Gates of Rome; all from the Byzantine Period.

and Greek, then borne by Rome. It was no doubt Belisarius who altered the older postern into the gate found there at present.[2]

If we follow the city wall from the Pincian Gate towards the

[1] A is from the inside of the Appian Gate; it bears the words: "God's grace, St. Conon, St. George." B is from outside the Pincian Gate; D from inside the same; C is outside the Latin Gate.

[2] Lanciani, in the *Bull. arch. com.*, 1892, p. 102, explains the alteration by a plan, and ascribes the gate to Honorius, without, however, giving any proof; also in his *Forma Urbis*.

east, we shall find large breaches showing signs of having been patched up in early times. The way in which the repairs have been carried out, and the wholesale use of older building materials, especially of blocks of marble, leaves no doubt that the work was performed in a hurry. Many of these places, evidently broken down by violence, could they but speak, would tell us of the assaults of the Goths and of the havoc done by their rough, wooden battering-rams. In many instances they must be breaches made at that time and repaired in hottest haste.

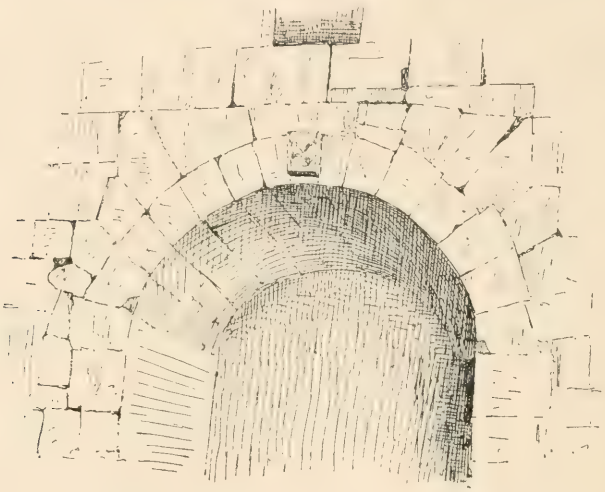
Some portions of the walls were also thrown down by Totila during his stay in the vanquished city, as Procopius expressly informs us. That was a deed of blind rage, for in no sense could such destruction be of any use to the Gothic king, as he certainly had no intention of giving up Rome again. The common view that a third of the whole great city girdle was involved cannot, however, be admitted: besides being inherently improbable, this is contradicted by the appearance of the present wall, which is practically unaltered. The passage in question of the Greek historian must be taken to mean that the uppermost part of the wall was dismantled in several places, perhaps only where the structure was already damaged. In his great *Forma Urbis*, Lanciani shows a long stretch of the wall to the left of the *Porta Nomentana*, towards the *Porta Salaria*, as having been destroyed in 546 by the Goths; this is, however, an hypothesis and nothing more.[1]

Totila had further destroyed all the gates of the city, if we are to take the statements of Procopius literally. This, too, is refuted by appearances, since many of the gates even now retain the stamp given them by Honorius. (See Ill. 164, and vol. i., Ills. 15, 32.) Yet at several of the gates, on closer examination, it may be seen that the blocks of stone forming the arch of the portcullis, or sarracinesca, have at some time been violently knocked away and afterwards replaced in hasty fashion. We may well ascribe their appearance to the injury they suffered at Totila's hands, and the subsequent repairs by Belisarius or Narses, especially as in the centre of these arches, for instance

[1] PROCOP., 3, c. 22: Τοῦ περιβόλου ἐν χωρίοις πολλοῖς τοσοῦτον καθεῖλεν ὅσον ἐς τριτημόριον τοῦ παντὸς μάλιστα. Ed. COMPARETTI, 2, 344. Gregorovius is thus led to state that "the third part of this gigantic work (the wall) was overthrown" (1, 421). Luckily the words bear another interpretation.

on the *Porta Latina*, there are Greek crosses and monograms (Ill. 164).[1]

Turning to the right at the *Porta Nomentana*, and proceeding round the Prætorian Camp, according to Lanciani's *Forma Urbis*, we should reach the *Vivarium*, which proved so fatal to the Gothic hordes at their first onslaught under Vitiges. It was a square of masonry, which had formerly served to contain wild beasts, and projected from the city wall to the south of the Præ-



Ill. 164.—The Porta Latina. Interior.
Sketched by P. Franchi.

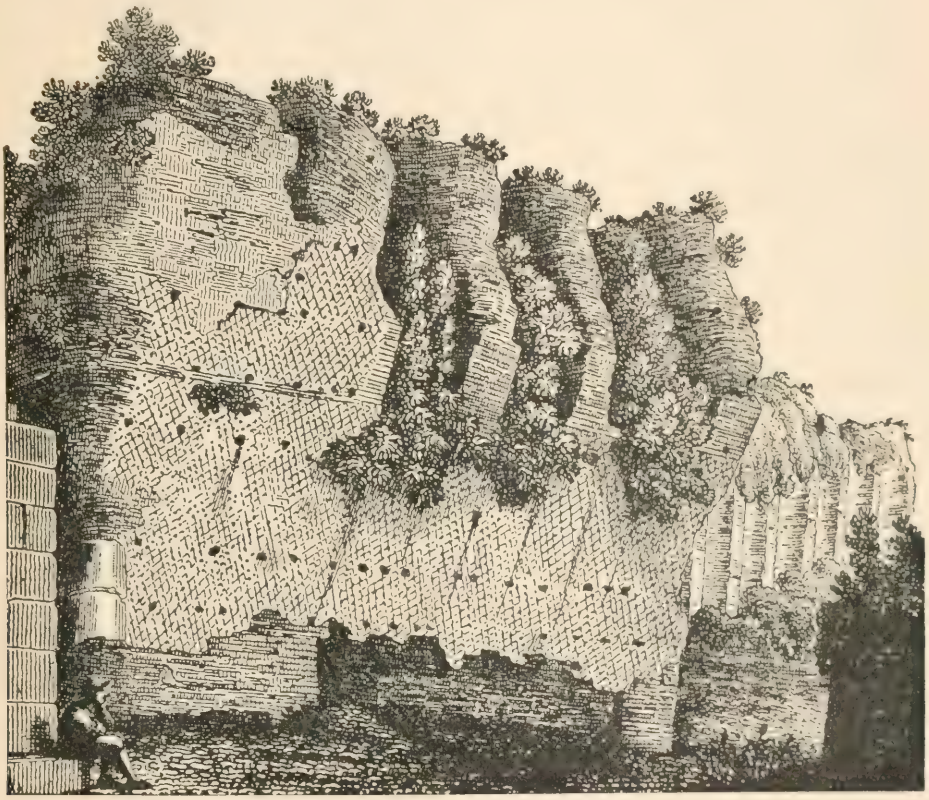
torian Camp. Here was situated the ancient gate, now walled-up, called *Porta Clausa*, or *Porta inter aggeres*.

The Goths had hoped to be able to surprise the city from this weak side. They clambered over the *Vivarium*, Belisarius quietly looking on. When, however, they had filled it, the

[1] Procop., 3, c. 24: Πάσας γὰρ (πύλας) διαφθείρας Τωτίλας ἔτυχεν, ἄσπερ οὐκ ἔφθη τεχνιτῶν Βελισάριος τεκτηνάμενος. Ed. Comparetti, 2, 355. Without removing the gates, the treatment above described would have been sufficient to put them out of use; nor was it necessary that all should be so treated, even supposing that Totila wished to make Rome an open city. Coste (p. 232) translates τεχνιτῶν wrongly by "carpenters." In my opinion this means "master-masons," who were to repair the crown of the arches. It is quite likely that just then there was a difficulty in finding workmen and time for work so difficult, whereas carpenters to replace the portcullises were there in plenty. The hasty repairs by the Byzantines are also very noticeable at the Appian Gate; on the outer and also on the inner side, where a "spire" cross within a circle is seen, similar to that on the outside of the Pincian Gate (see Ill. 163 B. For the inner side of the latter, see above, p. 330). The same cross is observable also upon the remains of the Salarian bridge over the Anio, built by Narses. On the latter, see F. Mazzanti, *Archivio storico*

Byzantine troops suddenly burst in upon them from the city, and the Goths, who in so confined a space could neither fight nor flee, underwent a terrible defeat.[1]

350. Proceeding in the opposite direction, towards the north-west, along the outside of the city walls and under the lofty



Ill. 165.—The Muro Torto, a Ruined Mass of Roman Masonry below the Pincian Gardens.

boundary of the Pincian, we notice at the northernmost spur of this hill a sunken mass of ruined masonry, now known as the

dell' arte, 1896, p. 50, where a view of the former bridge is given, after d'Agincourt. Above the cross on the inner side of the Appian Gate (Ill. 163 A) stands ΘΕΟΥ ΧΑΡΙϹ; under it, ΑΓΙΕ ΚΩΝΟΝ ΑΓΙΕ ΓЄΩΡΓΙ. Similar Byzantine restoration may be seen on both sides of the Latin Gate. The outer side (cp. Nibby, *Mura di Roma*, Pl. 24) displays a monogram ☧ with Alpha and Omega in the right and left angles (Ill. 163 C). Closer examination may show other gates, even those without Byzantine crosses, to have been restored by Belisarius or Narses. The only other crosses upon the Roman gates are those over the *Porta Ostiensis*.

[1] Procop., I, c. 23, ed. Comparetti, I, 167 : *Οὐϊτίγιδος ἐν βιβαρίῳ ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένου*, &c.

Muro Torto (Ill. 165).[1] The Pincian, described in antiquity as *Collis Hortorum*, had then, as now, enormous substructures on its northern side. To judge by several indications, this masonry dates from about the first century. Reticulated work of the best Roman period is visible both in the Muro Torto and further west, below the last of the huge buttresses erected by Pius VII. The Emperor Aurelian, when building his wall, included in it the whole of the substructures of the Pincian.

This sunken corner is mentioned by Procopius in his History of the Gothic war. He points it out as a place miraculously protected by St. Peter, according to popular tradition. Evidently, even then, the wall had long since assumed its bulging shape. Some earthquake after the time of Aurelian, aided by the weight of the soil behind, must have caused the damage. Belisarius, among his first measures for the defence of the city, resolved to break down this corner and replace it by another, as it seemed to offer a very inviting opening to the enemy. But, according to Procopius, the Romans assured him that St. Peter had made a promise to mount guard himself there ; for which reason Belisarius gave up the place. As a matter of fact, to the great astonishment of the besieged, the point in question was never assailed even during the succeeding years of warfare. Hence, concludes Procopius, from pious awe to this day no one has ever attempted any repairs there.[2]

The expression "to this day" holds true to our own time, for the condition of the "Muro Torto" has, in the main, continued unchanged. The spot was nevertheless, doubtless even under Belisarius, well defended. At no time, and least of all under the cautious Byzantine general, did people leave this portion of the wall to the exclusive protection of St. Peter. Looked at from below, the leaning mass certainly gives the impression of frightful ruin, but an attack upon the wall at this point would, all the same, have been a more than hazardous enterprise. We must also remember that at the time of Belisarius, as is clear from the description by Procopius, the surrounding ground was consider-

[1] After NIBBY-GELL, *Le Mura di Roma*, Pl. 4. The view is taken from the western entrance of the Villa Borghese. Cp. our *Forma Urbis* in vol. i. There is still some reticulated work to be seen in the walls perceived to the right.

[2] The most characteristic passage in Procopius runs (ibid., p. 165) : Περίβολον διερρωγότα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι τὸν χῶρον. . . . Πέτρον σφίσι τὸν ἀπόστολον ὑποσχέσθαι ἰσχυριζόμενοι αὐτῷ μελήσειν τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου.

ably lower than now, which would render the assault of the wall still more difficult.

But this does not in any way impair the pious belief of those early warriors or of the denizens of the city; still less is it our intention to call into question the reality of St. Peter's protection of Rome. The representations to Belisarius may really have been made by the Romans in the manner told us. History, however, has the duty of taking circumstances into account, and as regards Procopius, critics are well aware that his narrative is, generally speaking, much more correct than his judgment or his philosophy. At any rate he is quite right from every point of view in the remark he makes, after the above statements: "The Apostle Peter is the chief object of the admiration and devotion of the Romans." Indeed, we may be certain that the Romans placed under Peter's protection all the walls of the city, and not merely the "Muro Torto." The Goths, too, vied with the Romans and Byzantines in showing esteem for Peter; Belisarius indeed presented the Apostle's Tomb with a costly votive offering; but, on the other hand, even the Gothic King Totila, after taking possession of Rome towards the end of 546, went forthwith to St. Peter's to offer thanks.

351. Another point of the city fortifications, often mentioned in the history of the war, was the huge **Mausoleum of Hadrian** on the Tiber.

The portico previously spoken of led thither from St. Peter's. This, as well as the other adjacent buildings, especially the far-stretching circus of Hadrian, the Goths under Vitiges sought to use as a base for assaulting the mausoleum itself. Hadrian's Mausoleum was then, what it remained ever after, a place of great military importance. It formed the key to the Ælian Bridge, or Ponte Sant' Angelo, across which passed the road to the main part of the city on the left bank of the river. First turned into a fortress by Honorius, it not only protected the bridge, but also the so-called Gate of St. Peter (*in Hadrianio*), *i.e.* that then known as the Aurelian Gate. This stood hard by the right bank of the river, in the western of the two walls which ran from the mausoleum down to the Tiber, enclosing the bridge between them.[1]

During the first siege under Vitiges one of the main onslaughts

[1] Cp. present work, vol. i. p. 264.

of the Goths was against the Imperial Tomb, for they had resolved at all costs to carry the Aurelian Gate. Feigning an attack with boats against the wall on the left shore, the Goths decoyed the commander of the fortress into the open. Immediately other Gothic forces under cover of the portico of St. Peter's, almost without being seen, approached the Aurelian Gate. When close to the latter they let fly a cloud of arrows against the ramparts of the fortress, and then, covered by their great shields, rushed forward with ladders to storm the building. The small remaining portion of the Greek garrison could use neither their ballistæ nor their bows, as the enemy was too close and too well covered by their bucklers.[1]

The troops within the Mausoleum were thus driven to a desperate measure. The ancient statues on the parapet were hastily broken up and hurled down upon the Goths. Works of art due to the genius of Greece and Rome, statues of the gods collected by Hadrian and his successors, figures of the heroes of former times, were dashed against the assailants, making great gaps in their ranks. The Imperial Tomb was saved; it was surrounded by dead warriors buried beneath cold marble fragments.

Some idea of the wealth and number of the classical masterpieces on the Mausoleum is given by the statues, or pieces of statues which have been found from time to time down to our own day at the foot of its walls. Thence came the sleeping faun in Munich, found under Urban VIII. in a new entrenchment; also the colossal bust of Hadrian which is now in the Vatican, and was found in the time of Alexander VI. The recent work of lengthening the Ælian Bridge (1892) led to the discovery of fresh important fragments, amongst others, heads of colossal human statues and a portion of a horse's head of huge size. According to Procopius, the uppermost portion of the Mausoleum was decorated with figures of horses shown drawing a car four abreast.[2]

In the course of the Gothic war, Hadrian's Mausoleum on two more occasions became a scene of action, though no further

[1] PROCOP., I, c. 22, ed. COMPARETTI, I, 160. This passage, owing to topographical ignorance, has been the subject of extraordinary explanations.

[2] On the statues, see BUNSEN, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 2, I, p. 408; and for the recent discoveries, see C. L. VISCONTI, *Bull. arch. com.*, 1892, p. 265 ff.

attempt was made to carry it by storm. After Totila had captured Rome a second time, he invested the Mausoleum, then held by Paul, a captain of the Cilician cavalry. When the latter had already determined to cut his way through the foe, he was allowed by Totila to retire under arms with his men. The Gothic King then strengthened the citadel by a fresh wall.

After Totila had fallen in battle against Narses, and the Greek general had recaptured Rome, the last handful of the Gothic garrison took refuge in the castle, where they defended themselves and the valuable booty they had hastily concealed in it. But, brave as they were, it was hopeless to think of prolonged resistance. Narses magnanimously permitted them to withdraw, under the same conditions as the Byzantine captain had retired previously.

Scenes in the City during the Gothic War

352. The inner history of the city during those stormy years furnishes two scenes of a very different character; one had its setting in the Lateran, the other in St. Peter's. In the first, the principal actors were Pope Vigilius and Belisarius; in the second, Vigilius and the poet Arator.

Belisarius had overcome King Vitiges and brought him captive to Ravenna. Here the unfortunate leader of the Goths was told that he was to be taken to the Emperor Justinian at Constantinople, and that Belisarius would accompany him as beseemed his rank. On a previous occasion the Vandal King Gelimer had similarly been taken to Constantinople to grace the Emperor's triumph. According to the *Liber pontificalis*, the journey of Vitiges began, not at Ravenna, but at Portus Romanus. Belisarius first brought his prisoner to Rome, and, with him, visited Vigilius in the Lateran Palace. In the hall called the Basilica of Julius a solemn assembly was held to celebrate the conclusion of peace, which seemed secure now that Vitiges had fallen. Belisarius and those entrusted with the custody of Vitiges then took a solemn oath in the presence of the authorities of the Church to do no harm to the King in life or limb, but to take him unmolested to the Emperor at Constantinople. In such wise did the German chieftain amidst his humiliation receive from the Greek Empire

an assurance of safety and good faith before the successor of Peter.[1]

To this scene from Roman history may be added some other reminiscences of Belisarius's association with the city.

It was perhaps then that Belisarius, out of gratitude for the result of the war, placed in the hands of Vigilius the valuable gold cross for the Tomb of Peter. It contained reminders of his victories in the form of bas-reliefs, or simply the names of the battle-fields; beside the glorious Vandal campaign, it was also to immortalise the Gothic War. To its making had gone one hundred pounds of gold, and it was also richly studded with jewels. Under Hadrian II., in the ninth century, it was still preserved in the Lateran Treasury, but after his death it disappeared, owing to the pillage which the Lateran Palace suffered during the vacancy of the see.[2]

The generous leader also bestowed on the Vatican Basilica two great silver candlesticks; of these Vigilius's biographer remarks, in the *Liber pontificalis*, that they stand "before the body of the Apostle Peter to this day." He also adds that Belisarius distributed many gifts and alms amongst the poor; that he founded, near the town of Hortae (Orte), on the Flaminian Way, a monastery in honour of St. Juvenal (the first known Bishop of Narni, which was near by), endowing it with many estates; and that he also built a hostel for pilgrims (*xenodochium*) in Rome, on the *Via Lata*.[3]

On the site of the pilgrims' hostel stands the church of *S. Maria in xenodochio*, or *inter trivium*, now called Sta. Maria di Trevi. An inscription outside the modern church, which speaks of its foundation by Belisarius, comes from the lintel of the door of the mediæval church. It tells in Leonine verse how the Patrician "Vilisarius," the friend of the city, had founded the church for the remission of his sins, and bids the visitor pray to God on his behalf.[4]

[1] *Liber pont.*, 1, 296, *Vigilius*, n. 102: "*Tunc dederunt ei sacramenta in basilica Iulia, ut salvum illum perducerent ad Iustinianum.*" I cannot see why Gregorovius, 1, 399, relegates the whole proceeding to the region of myths, though it is vouched for by an almost contemporary writer, simply because Procopius and the continuer of Marcellin's chronicle fail to mention it. [2] *Liber pont.*, ibid., and 2, 192, *Stephanus V.*, n. 643.

[3] *Liber pont.*, 1, 296, *Vigilius*, n. 102: "*Xenodochium in Via Lata, et in Via Flaminea iuxta civitatem Hortas monasterium sancti Iuvenalis.*"

[4] For text, see ARMELLINI, *Chiese*[2], p. 278, though not correctly. It is wanting in FORCELLA. The writing is exceptionally good for the eleventh or twelfth century, to which Armellini ascribes it. Nor can his notice be trusted of the discovery, in 1890, to

It is not the only inscription in Rome containing the name of Belisarius. Incidental references to the great soldier appear in various epitaphs. These are the more noteworthy, because at that period epitaphs were becoming scarce, and only very few remain which contain any allusion to famous people or to the Goths.[1]

On the other hand, the statue of Belisarius as a beggar, which was formerly shown in Rome at the Villa Borghese, belongs to the region of fables. The seated figure with hand outstretched does not represent Belisarius at all, but some other person. The almost universal credence in the mediæval legend, which told how the famous general lost his sight and was reduced to beggary, affords the reason why so extraordinary a meaning was attached to this statue. This false legend was also responsible for the popular tale that Belisarius had stood at the Pincian Gate soliciting alms from passers-by. That the gate for a time bore his name was due to a very different cause. So strong a hold had the legend on popular fancy that during the Middle Ages an inscription was placed above the gate, "Spare an obolus for Belisarius." [2]

353. In 544 the Vatican Basilica witnessed the other peaceful event alluded to above. It would seem that as yet Rome stood in no fear of the approach of the successor of her captive Vitiges. During this interval of peace, Arator, a subdeacon of the Roman Church, had composed a great poem in hexameters, dealing with the history of the Apostles. Arator, who had formerly held high office under the Goths, was a native of Liguria, and had been persuaded by Vigilius to enter the Roman clergy. At a solemn

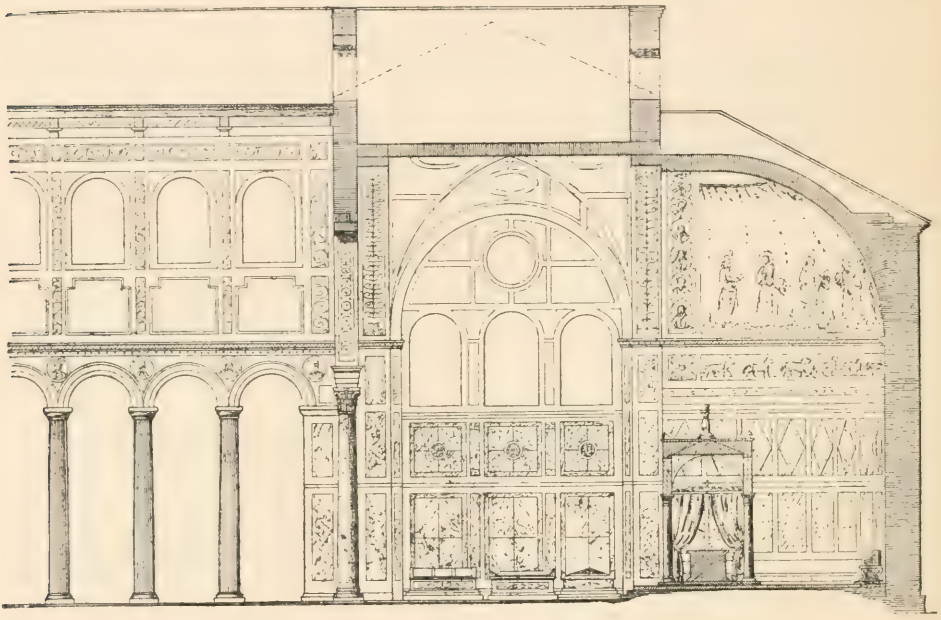
the east of the present church, of alleged remains of masonry belonging to the *Xenodochium* or its church. The long wall (not a portico) here referred to is older than Belisarius. See LANCIANI in the *Bull. arch. com.*, 1892, p. 278. These remains are shown by Lanciani in his *Forma Urbis*.

[1] For instance, see the epitaph from San Pancrazio on Seberus the Tinctor (of 537), where mention is made of "*beatissimus papa Vigilius et Vilisarius vir excellentissimus adque* [*sic*] *patricius*," in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ. urbis Romae*, 1, 481, n. 1057. Cp. in my *Anal. rom.*, 1, 156, and Pl. V., n. 5, the Roman epitaph in Sta. Prassede of the Goth Viliaric, nephew of Trasaric, the *magister militum*. The text, belonging to the year 589, is an interesting witness to the fact that there were high-placed Goths in Rome after the fall of the Gothic kingdom.

[2] On the wrong explanation of the statue, see the Italian edition of WINCKELMANN, with FEA'S additions, *Storia delle arti del disegno*, 2, 421; 3, 515. BARONIUS (ann. 561, n. 2) still believed in the scene at the Pincian Gate, given in his "Chiliades" by the Greek writer, Joannes Tzetzes, in the twelfth century: Βελισαρίῳ ὀβολὸν δότε τῷ στρατηλάτῃ. The inscription is mentioned, for instance, by UGGERI, *Journée pittoresque du tour des murs de Rome* (1828), p. 17. Cp. C. MEYER, *Belisar in Sage und Kunst*, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 16 (1893), 4.

gathering in St. Peter's he now presented his poetical effort to his papal patron.[1]

The ceremony, according to a notice included in the manuscripts, took place on April 6. Several bishops and most of the clergy assembled in front of the Apostle's Confession. Pope Vigilius at once ordered part of the work to be read aloud, and then handed it over to Surgentius, the *Primicerius* of the notaries, to be preserved among the archives (*scrinium*). When, however,



Ill. 166.—San Pietro in Vincoli.
Section showing sanctuary and transept. Reconstruction.

as is stated in the same notice, the most cultured and learned men in the city ceased not to beg the Pope to allow the work to be publicly read in its entirety, the author himself was permitted to recite the long poem of 2326 verses in the beautiful Basilica of St. Peter *ad Vincula*, which owed its fine adornment to the generosity of the Theodosian family (Ill. 166).[2]

The recitation was given in the presence of high and low, clergy and laity, and required no less than four meetings, so many passages being encored that progress was slow.[3]

[1] Arator, *De actibus apost. libri duo*, ed. Arntzen, 1768. *P.L.*, LXVIII., 81 ff.
[2] Hubsch, *Die altchr. Kirchen*, Pl. 9, Fig. 8. This section shows well the various parts of one of the finer basilicas.
[3] *P.L.*, LXVIII., 55.

Hence at such assemblies the custom of happier times still obtained, namely, the public reading of the works of distinguished poets. In the period of Rome's decline, classic customs were forced to seek a refuge in the Church.

But it was not the classical muses, nor the Olympian gods, which had inspired Arator, but the lofty themes provided by Holy Scripture and the Church. At times his poetic vision reaches perfection; easy and graceful, or solemn and dignified, according to the subject, his verses flow smoothly. There is, however, a certain clumsiness in the adjustment of the various parts of the whole; the poet also indulges too much his taste for explaining mystically and allegorically the facts of the Bible; his language, moreover, besides being obscure, shows traces of affectation. Arator was the last Roman representative of early Christian poesy.

At the same time we can well understand the interest taken in so rare an occurrence as the appearance in Rome of a new poetical work, especially at such a moment in the city's history. The poetic description of the fate of the persecuted Apostles and their victorious preaching, particularly Arator's deeply felt glorification of St. Peter, the shield and comforter of the Romans, were sufficient to ensure the poet a grateful and attentive audience. Describing Peter's release from Herod's prison, he exclaims: "From the Rock does Peter derive his name; he has obtained an everlasting name. This foundation will never know decay. Peter, we await thee; come to us, quit thy prison and save those who love thee!" [1]

What a deep impression, too, it must have made when soon after, at the close of the first half of the poem, Arator came to Peter's chains, kept in that very church. "A pledge for our release," he says, "has been given us, a treasure hallowed by the hand of Peter the prisoner and by the word of the angel. Through these chains the Faith has been assured; through them, O Rome, thou wilt ever find salvation; through these chains thou art free for evermore, and thy walls shall never be shattered by the foe. For Peter, who opens the portals of Heaven, closes the way to the evils of war." [2]

[1] Lib. 1, v. 1013 ff.

[2] Ibid., v. 1070 ff.: "*His solidata fides, his est tibi, Roma catenis*
Perpetuata salus; harum circumdata nexu
Libera semper eris," &c.

These verses were soon after made to serve as an inscription in the church in question. De Rossi, *Inscr. christ. urbis Romae*, 2, 1, pp. 110, 285. Cp. my article on Peter's Chains in the *Civiltà catt.*, 1898, iii., 205 ff., 210.

The last words belong to the period in which they were written, and express but the divinely inspired hopes of the poet. Was it really beyond the realm of things possible that the dreaded Totila should soon after again threaten Rome, and finally seize the city? Though the Church taught her children to trust in the saints, she never presumed to lay down laws for the help from above which she taught them to expect. Help often comes later than we in our impatience desire. To Rome also it came late—not until a fresh scourge had been held over the city, and her gates had again fallen. We see, however, the finger of Providence in the fact that the city was preserved at all for her future mission in the world. That Rome, in spite of all these blows, was able to strengthen her spiritual sway over the nations; that the Church, under such a Pope as Vigilius, did not suffer more than it did, may be ascribed to the higher guidance which controlled the history of this city and of its spiritual See.

354. Vigilius, as has already been pointed out, owing to his earlier doings, never secured the real esteem of the Romans; this was peculiarly unfortunate, as his was a time when the city stood in sad need of a new Leo the Great.

In his allusion to Vigilius in the dedicatory portion of his work, Arator indeed speaks of his marvellous charity. He carries, says the poet, the flock upon his shoulders. There can, however, be little doubt that this is but a piece of flattery, though it is quite conceivable that Vigilius may have sought to wipe out the memory of his usurpation of the See and his mishandling of Pope St. Silverius by freely distributing alms. Official complaints made against him by his enemies were, however, received in Constantinople. It may be that the Court had come at last to see that it would be better for the city, in its hour of peril, to be ruled by some trusty Papal Vicar than for Vigilius to foment by his presence the existing dissensions. But the principal reason which led to the Pope being brought to Constantinople, as described previously, was the Emperor's interest in dogma. Justinian hoped to secure the Pope's assent to his own decisions regarding the Three Chapters.[1]

As already narrated, at Justinian's command Vigilius was

[1] The *Liber pont.* has something to say (1, 297, *Vigilius*, n. 103) concerning the *suggestiones* made by the "Romans" to Constantinople against Vigilius. The author has, however, mingled truth with falsehood.

deported from Rome. This happened in November, 545, at a time when the Goths under Totila were hourly expected before the walls of the city.[1]

By the month of December, Pope Vigilius was in Sicily, where, on the occasion of the Ember Days, he ordained priests and deacons at Catania. Whilst in Sicily, the Pope had a quantity of wheat gathered together from the Patrimonies of the Roman Church situated in the island, and despatched it to Rome for the support of the beleaguered city. The ships also carried two vicars whom he had nominated to administer the Roman Church. Ampliatus, a priest, was to act as *Vicedominus*, this being the first known mention of the office, which included the supervision of the Pope's residence. Valentine, Bishop of SS. Rufina and Secunda, was to be the Pope's Vicar in things spiritual. Unfortunately, on entering the Tiber, the ships ran into an ambush of the Goths, who seized the cargo and took the clergy prisoners. Totila had Valentine brought before him, and after accusing him of falsehood, had both his hands cut off. The duty of acting for the absent Pope accordingly devolved on other persons ; it seems likely that this was undertaken by Pelagius, the deacon, and Mareas, a priest. At a later date, in 554, Applicatus, a presbyter, and Stephen, a deacon, are spoken of as the Pope's vice-regents.[2]

Rome's Woes during the War

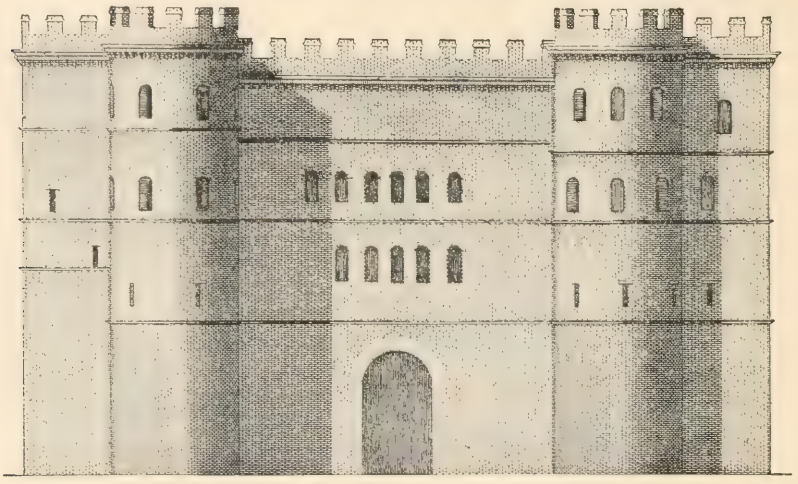
355. The famine in Rome had meanwhile become acute. Procopius has left frightful accounts of it. Tottering figures were to be seen stealing into waste places and climbing the city walls in search of nettles, which were then boiled and gulped down as the rarest dainties. People without number died of starvation. Many, as the *Liber pontificalis* tells us, had to fight the temptation of devouring their own children. The Greek commanders of the city, Bessas and Conon, made the situation yet worse through their rapacious extortions. Crowds ready for flight had to come before them and pay dearly for permission to

[1] See above, p. 287 f.

[2] *Liber pont.*, l.c., n. 105, with Duchesne's notes. Applicatus and Stephen are mentioned in the letter of Pelagius I. to Maurus, Bishop of Praeneste, in 558 (MANSI, 9, 736 ; JAFFÉ-KALTENBR., n. 951) : "*Pro indictione secunda et tertia Applicato quondam presbytero et Stephano diacono vices pontificis in urbe agentibus*" before the elevation of Pelagius, as the letter itself expressly states.

save what remained of their life by leaving Rome. Houses and mansions gradually became deserted; but the fugitives, who had been in such haste to leave, mostly met their death in the neighbourhood, in consequence of want and exposure.[1]

One day Pelagius the deacon, in the name of the still surviving Romans, appeared before Totila in his camp on the *Campus Merulis*. Pelagius, who was afterwards to succeed Pope Vigilius, was much esteemed in the city, and in Italy generally, as the friend of Justinian. Since his return from Constantinople he had distributed his large fortune among his fellow-citizens.



Ill. 167.—The Porta Asinaria near the Lateran.
Exterior, reconstructed.

Now he approached the Gothic King to intercede for the people; he asked only for a short truce; should Rome in the meantime receive no help from the Empire, the city would then yield itself to the mercy of the Goths.

Totila, whilst maintaining a friendly mien, repulsed the advances of Pelagius in so haughty and merciless a fashion that the latter at once withdrew. The deacon merely assured him that the cause of the people was in God's hands, who punishes those who turn away suppliants in contempt.[2]

On December 17, 546, Totila entered the city by night. The *Porta Asinaria* was given up to him by Isaurian soldiers. This

[1] Procop., 3, c. 16 ff. *Liber pont.*, l.c., n. 107: "*ut etiam natos suos vellent comedere.*"
[2] Procop., 3, c. 16.

was the very gate which the Greeks in their spite had falsely accused Pope Silverius of wishing to betray. The Byzantines had now the mortification of seeing it fall the first into the hands of the foe. The gate still exists, almost intact, as one of the city's most picturesque monuments of the Late Empire (Ill. 167).[1] The Goths, in their delight, remained drawn up during the rest of the night in the Lateran plain, under the windows of the Papal residence and Basilica. The Greek soldiers and their leaders thus had opportunity to escape. The people, by this time reduced to a few thousands, flew for sanctuary to the churches, where all, from the beggar to the senator, awaited their fate in trembling. In St. Peter's the patricians Maximus, Olybrius, and Orestes joined the populace before the altars. Thither, too, came Pelagius the deacon, the crowd's last hope.[2]

Towards the same Basilica of the Vatican, at break of day, Totila came in triumph, accompanied by a swarm of armed followers.

Pelagius met him at the top of the steps to intercede once more on behalf of the population. He besought the King to be merciful to the city, now lying before him as a slave. What Leo the Great had obtained from Genseric, Pelagius now secured from Totila, who gave his word that none would be slain, though the Gothic soldiers were to be allowed the fullest right to plunder as they chose. After the King had prayed in the holy place, he made known his strict commands regarding the treatment to be shown to the Romans.[3]

356. As a matter of fact, only 60 non-combatants and 26 soldiers lost their lives; women were respected. On the other hand, the rich mansions were stripped with brutal violence, great jubilation hailing the discovery of the treasures amassed by the greed of Bessas. Fires also broke out in several places through the carelessness of the plunderers. Procopius expressly speaks of "many houses of the city" having fallen a prey to the flames,

[1] UGGERI, *Journeés pittoresques*, 2, Pl. 6. Coming out by the present Porta di San Giovanni the remains of this fine gate will be seen to the right.

[2] If we could credit Procopius (3, c. 20), the population had been reduced to 500.

[3] For the scene on the steps, see PROCOP., ibid. Strange to say, Coste, in his translation, p. 223, makes the deacon bear the "Most Holy," *i.e.* the Eucharist, in his hands, whereas the Greek has: τὰ χριστιανῶν λόγια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ φέρων, that is, the Book of the Gospels, as was customary on such embassies. See above, p. 209. The *Liber pont.*, n. 107, says of Totila: "*habitavit rex cum Romanis quasi pater cum filiis*"—an echo of the state of mind of the people so suddenly delivered from the direst misery.

whilst Jordanis, the Goth, in his history of his nation, even states that Rome was destroyed.[1]

It is certainly futile, out of affection for the Goths, to say that the damage done by them did not exceed the loss of a few houses. But it is equally far-fetched to speak of the destruction of the city, or to say that whole regions were reduced to ashes. It is true that the tradition current in Rome at the end of the Middle Ages put down the decline and fall of Rome to the hated Goths. This opinion had its source in the Romans' undying recollection of the unexampled sufferings which overtook the city during the siege and after its capture by Totila.

There can, however, be no doubt that the Gothic King did threaten to raze the city to the ground. To tell the truth, he was intoxicated with his triumph, and his deed in dismantling some portions of the city wall was that of a madman, for he, more than any one else, would soon need them for his own safeguard ; he would seem to have vented his spite on the stones against which the best blood of his Goths had been spilt.

Totila's awful threats against Rome and its strength and grandeur, against that foe beside which he felt himself small, led Belisarius to send him a famous letter, for Belisarius himself seems to have taken the threats very seriously. He pointed out to the King what lasting disgrace he would bring upon his own name should he destroy the greatest and most notable of all cities. Rome had been left by the ancient world as a memorial of its power and grandeur ; the best artists and architects in the world had laboured through long ages at the work ; such reproach would the destruction of Rome bring upon the Goths that, should their success in war change, an event which is always to be reckoned with, they would lose all claim to mercy.[2]

Though Totila stopped short of the folly of actually destroying Rome, he relieved his rage for vengeance by expelling all surviving inhabitants. This measure also is a difficult one to understand.

What added to the King's wrath was the news of the victories gained by the Byzantine general Joannes in Southern Italy. He felt fiercely anxious to quit Rome and measure swords with his

[1] JORDANIS, *Romana* (al. *De summa temporum*, or *De regnorum successione*), ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, 5, 1) : "*demolita Roma.*" On this alleged destruction, and on Procopius, see GREGOROVIUS, 1, 424 ff., who seeks to minimise the damage done.

[2] PROCOP., 3, c. 22, ed. COMPARETTI, p. 345.

new foe. It is in this connection that Procopius mentions the order given for the evacuation of Rome. "The King took with him," he says, "the Roman senators, and the remaining citizens, with their wives and children, he packed off to the villages of Campania; not a soul was to remain behind in Rome, so that he left a city quite void of inhabitants."[1] So writes the most trustworthy historian of the war.

Rome thus became for a time a tomb and a wilderness; the Queen of the Earth was seen deprived of all trace of life. That was the deepest and most humiliating calamity which the city ever experienced.

After Totila's withdrawal the Romans slowly returned to their homes.

Nevertheless, from that time the ancient senatorial families rapidly disappeared from the scene of history. The nobles carried off by Totila to Campania were rescued by Joannes and removed, first to Calabria and then to Sicily. Many doubtless followed the road taken by so many fugitives, and proceeded to Constantinople. Thus did fate lead the members of the Senate into countries varied and remote; very few eventually returned to Rome.

357. Totila had left a garrison in Algidum, near the city. It was, however, unable to prevent Belisarius from making his Byzantine troops again masters of Rome. Without any siege, without even being obliged to storm it, the city fell into his hands in the spring, 547.[2]

The general's first step was to repair the walls and gates, for, better than his opponent, he realised the importance of attending to the defence of Rome. When, in winter, he was forced to hurry to Southern Italy against Totila, never to return again to Rome, the scene of his triumph, the city lost her most powerful defender.[3]

358. Totila reappeared in the neighbourhood of Rome at the

[1] PROCOP., ibid., ed. COMPARETTI, p. 347: Ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἄνθρωπον οὐδένα ἐάσας, ἀλλ' ἔρημον αὐτὴν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπών.

[2] According to Procopius (l.c.), Algidum was 120 *stadii* (*i.e.* 22 kilometers or 12 Roman miles) to the west of Rome, and the garrison was intended to prevent Belisarius from attacking Rome from Portus. The place cannot therefore be identical with Algidum, the early "Oppidum" on the Latin Way, southward below Rocca Priora. It would be more likely found on the Aurelian Way, or between that and the *Via Portuensis*. Alsium or Palo is too far distant from Portus and from Rome to be thought of in this connection, though proposed by NIBBY (*Dintorni di Roma*, I, 124) and GREGOROVIUS (I, 426).

[3] On these restorations, see above, p. 330 ff.

beginning of 549 and at once set about taking the place by storm. The Isaurians, quartered at the Ostian Gate, treacherously opened that gate to him, and he became master of the city on easy terms. This time, in contrast to his former conduct, the victor strove to people anew the still almost deserted streets and to strengthen the ramparts.

Totila even hit upon the idea—which some moderns have praised, but which under the actual circumstances could only be termed barbarous—of having games celebrated in the Roman Circus. Who but a callous soldier could have had the heart to invite the crushed population to see horses and chariots racing?

Nor was this all. While he was yet before Rome in the encampment he had previously fortified on the *Campus Merulis*, Cerbonius, Bishop of the Tuscian coast-town Populonium, was brought before him on the charge of having sheltered a number of mercenaries of the Byzantine army whom he had hoped to shield from certain death. Totila declared the deed of mercy to be an act of high treason, and determined to administer an exemplary punishment. It was accordingly proclaimed in Rome that the Bishop would be thrown to a bear in the presence of the King. When the barbarian in grand state, surrounded by his troops and a cowardly crowd of people, prepared to feast his eyes on a spectacle recalling the days of Diocletian, behold, the first bear let loose from its cage laid itself down quietly on the ground in front of the saintly Bishop and reverently licked his feet. A long shout of admiration went up from the astounded crowd of lookers-on. Totila himself could not but express his veneration for the Bishop, who was forthwith set free. Gregory the Great, when recounting this incident, refers to eye-witnesses of the event still living in Rome in his time.[1]

359. Among the cultured and illustrious families of Rome, which survived the Gothic war, Totila left an evil name. In the home of Pope Gregory upon the Cælian the memory of Rome's cruel foe remained deeply graven. In many passages of his writings the Pope gave expression to these feelings. Moreover, even Totila's own countryman, Jordanis the Goth, in his *De Getarum origine et rebus gestis*, speaks with little sym-

[1] Gregor., *Dial.* 3, c. 11: "*Ursus . . . lambere episcopi pedes coepit. . . . Cui rei hi qui tunc praesentes fuerunt, adhuc nonnulli supersunt eamque cum omni illic populo se vidisse testantur.*"

Ill. 168.—The Porta Pinciana. (City-side. From a photograph by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani.)

pathy of the "havoc" wrought in Italy by the "enraged" King, and lays stress on the cruelty which the Romans had to suffer at his hands.[1]

According to a probable opinion, Jordanis, in 551, was Bishop of Croton and Pope Vigilius's companion in Constantinople. He dedicated to him, so it would appear, another work of his composition, seemingly a sort of universal chronicle. Like Cassiodorus and many other distinguished men, Jordanis was convinced that the only hope for the Gothic nation lay in the peaceable accommodation of the Goths to the Roman Empire and Roman civilisation. Unhappily the wars destroyed all prospect of such a consummation. Jordanis, like most of his Catholic contemporaries, was thus driven to take the side of the Empire, *i.e.* of Byzantium. As against Totila and his successor, who were Arians, like all the earlier Gothic sovereigns, the Byzantines seemed to him to stand for unity, both ecclesiastical and Imperial.[2]

The Roman nobility also were persuaded that the fate of their city was linked with the Empire established at Byzantium. So many monuments in Rome kept fresh the remembrance of the Empire and the Emperors, even the walls and the gates—for instance, the picturesque Pincian Gate (Ill. 168)[3]—where the Roman eagles had so recently fought with the Barbarians.

The reader will not expect us to recount the downfall of the truculent Totila or the tragic end of King Teias and the remnant of the Gothic nation. The overthrow of Totila at Taginae and of Teias near the Vesuvius are events having no special bearing on our subject.

When Totila marched northwards to besiege Rome for the first time, he passed through Campania at the foot of the heights on which the monastery of Monte Cassino sits enthroned. At that time St. Benedict (†543), the founder of the monastery and the reviver of Western monasticism, was still living within its sacred walls. The King had heard of this wonderful man and wished to see him. He wanted also to test the Saint's superior

[1] Gregory calls the Gothic King "*perfidus Totilas*," and says he had treated Cerbonius as one "*crudelitatis immanissimae vesania saevissimus*."

[2] WATTENBACH, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*[6], 1, 77, and W. MARTENS, *Jordanes' Gotengesch.*, p. II., against Mommsen relative to the biography of Jordanis and his connection with Pope Vigilius.

[3] Cp. Ill. 162, the exterior of the same gate. The interior, on the present plate, is rather too dark to allow of the hollow being seen into which the portcullis was drawn up.

knowledge, and he accordingly sent his sword-bearer Riggo in advance, disguised in the King's purple robe, rich shoes, and surrounded by a train of warriors led by the Counts Vult, Ruderic, and Blidin. It was to be seen whether Benedict would mistake Riggo for the King or not. The Saint had barely caught sight of the person announced as the King than he cried out to him, "My son, lay aside those robes, for they are not thine." Riggo and his followers sank upon their knees, startled and confounded. King Totila was sent for, and so moved was he at the sight of the Saint that he threw himself on the ground to do him honour, and refused to move till Benedict himself raised him. The Abbot then said to him: "Thou art doing and hast done much evil. Cease thy crimes. Thou shalt enter Rome and cross the sea. Nine years shalt thou reign, and in the tenth thou shalt die." The warrior King stood as if petrified. He could only stammer that he commended himself to the holy Abbot's prayers. Gregory the Great, who recounts the incident, adds that Totila, from that day, acted with less cruelty.[1]

When at last St. Benedict heard of the capture of Rome by Totila, he said to the Bishop of Canusium, who had brought the news, and expressed a fear that the city would be destroyed: "Rome will not be destroyed by the foreign nations; it will fall to pieces of its own accord, beaten by storms, by lightning, hurricanes, and earthquakes." "This prophecy," writes Gregory the Great, "we may see being fulfilled in the ruins of the olden city and in the elemental disturbances which are ever increasing them."[2]

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360. While, in Italy, Ostrogoths and Byzantines were engaged in the long and bloody struggle which was to decide their fate, prayers were rising to God from many a peaceful monastery on the hills or in secluded valleys where settlements of pious and hardworking monks had been established by **St. Benedict.** One

[1] *Dial.* 2, c. 14 ff. Riggo, Vult, Ruderic, Blidin, such is the spelling of these Gothic names in all the more ancient manuscripts of Gregory's Dialogues. Perhaps the name of Vult has been preserved in Vultvilla, the early name of the present Mentorella, near Tivoli.

[2] *Dial.* 2, c. 15, where Gregory at the same time shows how careful he was as to the sources of his information. He says of Benedict's prediction: "*Quamvis hoc Honoratus, eius discipulus, cuius mihi relatione compertum est, nequaquam ex ore illius audisse se perhibet, sed quia hoc dixerit, dictum sibi a fratribus fuisse testatur.*"

of the hymns of the office, sung probably even then, brings to our ears the song of peace chanted by the monks assembled around the altar for their nocturnal vigil :

> "That, while each consecrated hour
> We praise and sing His glorious power,
> The offerings of this day of rest
> May with His choicest gifts be blest." [1]

Such were perhaps the words sung by Benedict and his monks on the holy heights of Monte Cassino when Totila, at the head of his Gothic escort, came marching to the monastery.

[1] Fourth verse of the hymn "*Primo die quo Trinitas*" (*Brev. Rom. pars Hiem. Dominica ad Matutinum*).

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